B
S193jEt
1845

CHRONICLES

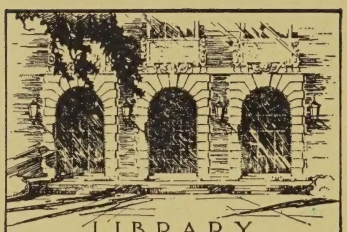
OF

JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND.

A. D. 1173.

LOYAL AU MORT

2 vols
[2/05]-



LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS

B
S193jEt
1845

The person charging this material is responsible for its return to the library from which it was withdrawn on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below.

Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

JAN - 1 1973

JAN 25 1973

JAN 7 1973

L161—O-1096

MONASTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

IN THE

TWELFTH CENTURY,

AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE

CHRONICLES OF JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND,

MONK OF ST. EDMUNDSBURY,

FROM A.D. MCLXXIII. TO MCCII.

Translated,

WITH NOTES, INTRODUCTION, &c.

BY

T. E. TOMLINS, ESQ.

EDITOR OF "LYTTLETON'S TENURES," &c.

FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, AS PRINTED BY THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, ESQ. F.R.S. &c.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON: WHITTAKER AND CO., AVE MARIA LANE.

B
S193 Et
1845

TO

THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL

OF THE

CAMDEN SOCIETY,

IN RESPECTFUL ADMIRATION OF THE

MANY INTERESTING AND VALUABLE ADDITIONS

MADE TO HISTORICAL LITERATURE BY THE SOCIETY,

THIS TRANSLATION

IS DEDICATED,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

Gen. Res. English 2 Aug 1957 Castle
Kenlaw 6 Sept 57

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The following pages consist of a translation of a MS. in the Harleian Collection of MSS. preserved in the British Museum, entitled *Cronica Jocelini de Brakelonda.* These chronicles contain a biographical account of Sampson of Tottington, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, together with an historical relation or account of the affairs of the convent from the year 1173 to the year 1202, interspersed with numerous allusions to events of a public character. But our chronicler, though he takes up his story at the year 1173, nine years before Sampson became abbot, can hardly be said to enter fully into the subject of his history till the death of his predecessor in the abbacy in 1180, indeed the compressed form of his narrative between 1173 and 1180 clearly indicates it to be mere prefatory matter, and introduced for the purpose of putting the vigilant management of Sampson more strongly in contrast with that of his predecessor. The chronicle terminates abruptly nine years previous to the death of abbot Sampson, a circumstance that cannot be accounted for by the death of the chronicler, for he survived the subject of his memoir.

This chronicler or biographer was Jocelin of Brakelond or Brookland, a native, as his surname imports, of the town of St. Edmund's Bury, a fact that imparts additional credit and interest to his narrative *. All else that is known of him is gathered from the incidental mention he makes of himself in these his "Chronicles," whereby it appears that he was a chaplain to the abbot Sampson, almoner †, and hospitaler or guest-master. It is difficult to ascertain the order of all these promotions, as his chronicles were evidently composed at different periods; however, he himself tells us, that upon abbot Sampson's election he was appointed the prior's chaplain, and four months after, the abbot's chaplain, and in this capacity he accompanied the abbot in his journeys to London, and visits to his manors, being constantly with him for six years ‡. The history, also, as is before noticed, terminates abruptly §, and it is perceptible, that in the latter part of his narration our chronicler is not so great an encomiast of the abbot as he is at the commencement of his history. However, there is not the least appearance of partiality in our chronicler throughout his entertaining volume.

The MS. Chronicle, which is in Latin ‖, has been recently edited by the Camden Society, under the superintendence of the late lamented Mr. John Gage Rokewode, who added a preface, notes, proofs, and dates; the dates have been, by permission of the Camden Society (so far as they were qualified to grant such permission), transferred to the present translation; but as the notes and proofs of Mr. Rokewode are of too archæological a character to be interesting to the general reader, the translator has substi-

* The Long Braklond, leading from the north gate to the market-place, and the Little Braklond, are ancient streets of St. Edmund's Bury, mentioned in deeds 33 Ed. I. (1305); Regist. Croftis, MS. Harl. 27, fol. 5. 10, b. 14, 15. Our chronicler appears to have been called Brookland by Spelman in his Glossary, *voce* Gaveloc; and also Buckland in the old editions of the Monasticon, doubtless the error of a transcriber.

† He is mentioned as being almoner at the time of abbot Sampson's decease, in a MS. concerning the election of a new abbot; but it appears from the present Chronicle that the offices were by no means of a permanent character, and were changed and resumed very frequently. See page 2. col. 2. line 6 from the bottom.

‡ Page 8. col. 1; page 11. col. 1; page 19. col. 1; page 28. col. 1.

§ Mr. Rokewode remarks, that part of this Chronicle is subsequent to the year 1200 is apparent from the fact that our chronicler, commenting upon an occurrence during that year, cites words which he finds apt to his purpose, used by the dean of London in his Chronicle. (See page 38. col. 1.) It is also apparent in another part of our chronicler's narrative, that he subjected his Chronicle to the perusal of another. (Page 30. col. 2.) As Jocelin remarks upon the reader's criticism, which accused him of partiality, the Chronicle could not have included the subsequent matter.

‖ MS. Harl. No. 1005, fol. 121. There was a copy of this Chronicle in the Cottonian MS. Vitellius D. xv., which is conjectured to have suffered in the fire that destroyed part of that collection.

tuted such notes and remarks as he conceives will best suit those readers to whom a translation would be a more desirable acquisition than the Latin edition. With regard to the original, it may be said to be written in the style usually adopted by the monkish writers; the latinity and idiom are both extremely corrupt, and our chronicler has interlarded the narrative with scriptural phrases and citations, either as being most in accordance with the very words uttered by persons who deemed such language most expressive, or as adopting the style of the Scriptures as most appropriate to the subject of his observations. There are also numerous citations from the profane writers, which have been introduced according to the custom of writers of that and a much later age. The references to these citations have also been transferred to the present pages from Mr. Rokewode's edition, as they do not occur in the original. The story is told with liveliness and, occasionally, quiet humour, qualities which the present translator has endeavoured, without affectation, to transfer to the present pages.

The late Mr. Rokewode, in the preface to his Latin edition, remarks, that "the public events recorded in this Chronicle are chiefly those in which the abbot of St. Edmunds had a share during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. They are not without historical interest; but the merit of the Chronicle lies more in the variety of ordinary incidents detailed, from which often something is to be learnt touching our language, manners, and customs, or our system, civil and religious, particularly the monastic polity." The object of the translator has been to present these qualities of the Chronicle in a more extended view to the ordinary reader, as the work forms a valuable illustration of social life in the twelfth century in respect of the feudal system in England, at that time in full vigour; the formularies of the jurisprudence of that age; the effect of local and exclusive jurisdiction (an inseparable incident to feudality); the contests in respect of ecclesiastical exemptions and immunities from visitation by the heads of the church; the litigation upon disputed tenures and services; the overweening power of the crown; the almost universal bondage of the rural population; the endeavours made by the burgesses to free themselves from the oppressive power of their lords; and the dense ignorance that prevailed in connexion with the enormous influence of the church, aided by the superstitious fears of all ranks of people.

It is hardly possible to allude to these subjects without entering somewhat into the early history of the monastery, and offering some observations, in a summary form, upon the events detailed in the Chronicle. The work of our chronicler was evidently written for the use of those who were well acquainted with the history of St. Edmund's Bury, and the legend of the patron saint of the convent, and who perfectly understood the allusions to monastic policy with which its pages abound; in fact, the Chronicle was intended for monastic readers, and in this consists its chief value, for the chronicler evidently felt convinced that true religion and devotion consisted in the monkish observances he is so accurate in detailing.

The town of St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, takes its name from a church and monastery of great celebrity and importance, founded in that place by some religious persons (as they were then termed), who said they had preserved the body of Edmund, a king of the East Angles, who, at his death, was dignified with the titles of "royal saint" and "holy martyr." From all that can be learnt of king Edmund, he was a person of good birth, who was nominated by Offa, king of the East Angles, as his successor to the petty kingdom of East Anglia, which was not incorporated with the kingdom of Egbert, but permitted to remain as a distant yet tributary state under its own sovereigns, the last of whom was this Edmund the king and martyr. History informs us that the Danes visited East Anglia in 865, and wintered at Thetford under Inguar and Ubba, their chiefs. In 870 they made an incursion further inwards, and Edmund gave them battle near Thetford: the result of this battle seems to have been, that the Danes were desirous of peace, and offered peace to Edmund upon condition of his dividing his kingdom with them. As the Danes were most cruel and perfidious pagans, Edmund refused their offer, which seems to have been made by means of an "embassy;" but he did not, indeed in all probability he was unable, to take steps to repel the invaders, who having next obtained possession of his person, bound him to a tree, beat him with "bats" or clubs, and exercised their skill in archery by shooting at him; finally Inguar ordered his head to be cut off, and it is said his head and body were thrown into the thickest part of the woods of Eglesdene. Now (according to the story told by the monks and superstitious chroniclers) the subjects and followers of Edmund endeavoured to find the body, but losing themselves in the wood, cried out to their companions "Where are you?" when a voice answered, "Here, here, here." They hasten to the place, and find the head in a thicket of thorns guarded by a Wolf, who shows no fierceness on this occasion, but followed the head when taken away, and returned as if in a drooping and melancholy state to the wood. The head, it is then said, united with the body, the mark of separation appearing like a purple (some say a red) thread. However, the body was buried in the earth in a little wooden chapel at a place called Hoxne. At the end of thirty-three years a report was circulated that miracles were performed at this chapel; in consequence of this, the body was exhumed for the purpose of its being placed in a large wooden church at a small town called Beodrichesworth (the

present Bury St. Edmunds); on this occasion the body of king Edmund was found, not putrid or decayed, but whole and uncorrupted with the head united to it, the mark of a red thread appearing round the neck. The only testimony of this incorruptibility of a body which had laid thirty-three years in the earth (for the body was said to be as fresh as if that day interred) was a female devotee, by name Oswyn, who, as the story goes, said that she had long secluded herself and lived near the town, and for several preceding years annually cut the hair and pared the nails of the saint, and had preserved these *relics* with unceasing care.

The next thing we hear is, that some persons devoted themselves to a monastic life and took charge of the body, which, of course, worked more miracles, and in particular caused the capture of some thieves who broke into the church, as well as death to a nobleman of the name of Leofstan, who, doubting the incorruptibility of the body and other particulars connected with the story, was seized by a demon at the very instant of opening the coffin to satisfy himself of the truth.

The body, or rather what was said to be the body, was translated from Hoxne to Beodrichesworth, as already noticed, about A.D. 903. During Turchill's invasion of East Anglia, A.D. 1010, the body was conveyed to London in a chest or coffin, under the care of Egelwin or Ailwin, afterwards bishop of Elmham, from whence, after remaining three years, it was again translated to St. Edmund's Bury, or Beodrichesworth, as it was then called (see page 29. col. 2). The ancient little church of Greenstreet, or Greenstead, near Chipping Ongar, in Essex, the nave of which is composed of the trunks of large chesnut trees, split and roughly hewn, is supposed to be the place where the body rested on its return. The ancient road from London at that period lay through Greenstreet.

The Danish kings themselves seem, at last, to have been fairly terrified by the saint, for Sweyn died, saying, he was stricken by St. Edmund; whereat king Canute his son was so alarmed, that he took the convent under his special protection. St. Edmund had obtained the reputation of inflicting summary vengeance upon those who disbelieved the incorruptibility of his body, or disturbed his convent, a notion that is alluded to more than once in the following pages by our chronicler, who seems to have implicitly believed all he had heard of his patron saint.

In the time of king Canute I., A.D. 1020, the persons who had the conservation of the saint's body were discovered not to be so devout as they ought to be, and therefore some Benedictine monks were transferred from the church or monastery of Hulme; since which time to the date of the Reformation, the convent increased in wealth and importance. In king Edward the Confessor's charter, Beodrichesworth is first called St. Edmund's Bury, and in Domesday book, which also describes it as "the town where the glorious king and martyr St. Edmund lies buried," the enumeration of the lands of St. Edmund is most voluminous, as compared with the brevity of the other entries in that record.

There is constant allusion made to the "liberties of St. Edmund;" this was the limit of the jurisdiction of the abbot in respect of the town, and in the Latin is written *bannaleuca*. This *bannaleuca*, or liberties, extended a mile, originally designated by four *milliaria*, or mile-stones, subsequently by four crosses. This was acquired in the year 945, when king Edmund, son of Edward the Elder and father of king Edgar, granted by his charter to "the monastery called Beodrichesworth, where rests the body of St. Edmund, the king and martyr," the land around the same place, the bounds whereof were distinguished therein, extending one mile.

The alleged incorruptibility of the king and martyr's body has always enabled the promoters of this imposture to consider the object of their superstitious reverence as personally present, a species of fiction which rendered the jurisdiction of the abbot over the town inviolate, and considered everything that belonged to the monastery as belonging to St. Edmund, consequently under his special protection. Throughout the whole of Jocelin's Chronicle, the name of our Saviour is never once mentioned; God and St. Edmund, and the abbot and St. Edmund, are phrases of common occurrence: indeed, nothing short of a narrative of this description could fully develope the depravation of the Christian religion by the means of saint-worship. The king and martyr's influence upon his votaries is supported by the fear of vengeance; witness the conduct of the justices of the exchequer (p. 28. col. 1), and the abbot Sampson's coolly making the interests of his church a personal matter between the saint (who was then said to be personally present) and Longchamp (p. 15. col. 2).

The first abbot of St. Edmund's Bury was Uvius, a humble modest man, who died in 1044.

Leofstan was abbot during the reign of king Edward the Confessor; he died 1065.

Baldwin, a monk of St. Denis at Paris, then prior of Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, a cell to St. Denis, was the next abbot: he is said to have possessed some knowledge of medicine; he was in favour with king Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror: the former granted his monastery the privilege of a mint, the latter granted many valuable possessions to the monastery. In his time, the church or monastery, which, when consecrated in 1032 was of wood, was begun to be built of stone; and from this time, the papal bulls, confirming the exemption from episcopal visitation, and granting various

ecclesiastical privileges, may be said to commence. This abbot received from the pope in person the pastoral staff and ring; he died in 1097 or 1098.

In 1100 Henry I. appointed Robert, the son of Hugh earl of Chester, to the abbacy: the monks resisted this appointment as being void, there having been no canonical election, and in a council held at London in 1102 he was deposed by Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury.

The next abbot was Robert II., who was elected August 1107. He was a great builder, for the sacrist in his time (it belonging to his office to oversee and construct the edifices of the convent) built the infirmary, the chapter-house, and the abbot's hall; in his time also, the separation, alluded to at p. 26. col. 1, of the revenues of the abbot from those of the convent took place, which was confirmed by charter of king Henry I.; he died 1112.

Albold, a native of Jerusalem, and monk of Bec, in Normandy, was the next abbot, A.D. 1114; he is said to have died in 1120.

Anselm, abbot of St. Saba, at Rome, and *nephew* of the archbishop Anselm, accepted the abbacy; he was confirmed in 1121. In his time, 1135, king Henry I. granted to the monastery the right of holding a fair at St. Edmund's Bury for six days, viz. three days before the feast of St. James, on the feast-day itself, and two days after: allusion is made to this fair at p. 21. col. 2.

Anselm was nominated to the see of London in 1136, and was succeeded by—

Ording, the prior of the convent, who was elected in 1138; but Anselm's nomination to the bishopric of London not being confirmed, he returned to his abbacy at Bury, when, after some difficulty, he was enabled to resume his functions as abbot, which Ording yielded to him, and on his death, in 1148, Ording was re-elected abbot. He died in 1156, and, by a passage in the present Chronicle (p. 29. col. 1), appears to have been buried in the chapter-house.

Hugh, prior of Westminster, was the next abbot, being elected in 1157, receiving his confirmation from the pope's legate; he died, as the present Chronicle relates, in 1180. In his time occurred the defeat of Robert le Bossu, earl of Leicester, with his Flemings, in 1173. He died, as the present Chronicle informs us, of a fall from his horse, in 1180.

He was succeeded by Sampson of Tottington, a native of Norfolk, who was consecrated, as the present Chronicle informs us, in March 1182. His death took place, as a chronicle or narration in the same MS. informs us, on the night after the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr, at twilight, 1211-12.

The narrative of Jocelin commences with a detail of the mismanagement of the affairs of the convent, chiefly arising from the great age and infirmity of the abbot Hugh; but Jocelin impresses on the reader, that religious observances, which, in the eyes of the monks, always superseded the practice of moral duties, were kept up, and monastic order maintained: notwithstanding this appearance of regularity in matters of form, every one did what was right in his own eyes. The dignitaries of the convent, who seem to have been, in a certain degree, independent of the abbot, as being elected by the whole convent, followed the example of their abbot, and supplied their necessities by taking up usurious loans from money-lenders. When it is considered that the interest of money was at that time, and for long after, sixty per centum per annum, the increase of debt may well be accounted for; but the Jews, who, as being the only capitalists, were the chief money-lenders, obtained new securities upon every fresh loan, so that the multiplication of compound interest caused the debt to mount up to most enormous sums, and, as Jocelin on another occasion states (p. 9. col. 2), the usury to be incalculable.

The Jews made complaint to the king, and, by paying a fine, procured his interference, which was the cause of the king's almoner paying the convent a visit: the almoner is quieted, doubtless by some pecuniary bribe, and the whole matter is hushed up. This sort of inquiry took place more than once, when the archbishop, as pope's legate, followed the king's example; and he was quieted doubtless in the same manner, for the corruption of these dark ages was almost universal, and the enormous sums wrung from the people by noblemen and ecclesiastics almost surpass belief. Jocelin innocently asks Sampson, his tutor, how he can stand by, and hear matters of such notoriety denied and explained away by mere assertion? but Sampson chides this precocious zeal, and quietly observes, that the burnt child dreads the fire, that flatterers rule and are believed, and that the time or opportunity for reform has not yet arrived. Indeed, Sampson does no more than tell us what Walter Mapes states, that monks were parasites and flatterers of the abbot, soothing *his* ears with honied words, and deceiving those above them with cunning; and that, though this character might not apply to all, yet that those who were prudent, modest, and moral, found no favour, when they ceased or were unable to flatter their superior.

These visitations, from which the abbey was not exempt, were deemed a great diminution from the honour of a monastery whose patron saint was in so much renown, whose possessions were so great, and who had enjoyed the favour and special regard of Edward the Confessor, and even of the Conqueror; therefore a privilege must be obtained from Rome, cost what it will, and a grave discus-

sion takes place, as to how the money shall be raised to pay the pope and cardinals what had been *promised*, for ready money was then out of the question.

Sampson's merits at last become apparent even to the indolent superannuated abbot, who, perhaps, wished Sampson to forget that he had in former times sent him with two or three other speakers for the common good, to confinement in a remote cell, and Sampson's unflinching behaviour excites the astonishment of the old man, (who must have had a long experience in a conventual life,) when he finds that Sampson is no parasitical eavesdropper. Poor old abbot Hugh next goes on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas à Becket's shrine, falls from his horse and is brought back to die, and have the very coverlets stolen from his bed in his last moments.

The abbey was vacant a year and three months, according to Jocelin's account, but another authority says two years and three months; and the king's clerks in custody, or wardens of the abbey, conducted themselves, as Matthew Paris tells us they generally did, in a harsh and depredatory manner, compelling repayment from the farmer of Palgrave, whose entrance-money on taking his farm had been distributed for the good of the departed abbot's soul; these wardens also thwart Sampson in his building and repairing purposes upon evil-minded suggestions. The king has a large share of the revenues of the abbey during the vacancy, which accounts for the delay in choosing a new abbot. At last Sampson is chosen; and, as our chronicler seems to infer from the dreams and visions that the brethren dream, his election was predicted. This circumstance, as well as the vision of the person of quality at p. 32. col. 1, shows what attention was paid to dreams, as the means of obtaining a knowledge of future events; a superstition, Mr. Fosbrooke remarks, in all probability assisted by a book on that subject, falsely attributed to the prophet Daniel. The influence of *omens* was not inferior: the falling of a bell, in a belfry at Norwich, in 1282, has been noticed as a presage of great disaster; the falling of the clock, at the time the shrine of the saint was burning, is related by Jocelin (p. 31. col. 1) under a similar impression of feeling.

Sampson is now in power; he sets to work, and looks after out-door affairs himself; 'tis no part of his religion to be idle; the honour and dignity of his convent, and of himself as a mitred abbot, stands not with borrowing of the Jews; he orders all the seals to be given up, only allowing the prior and sacrist to possess one. The seal that hung so conveniently at the shrine of the saint, and could not be said to belong to any one particular official, was, we may presume, broken, if it had not been broken, as the custom was in monasteries, at the death of the abbot Hugh;—three-and-thirty seals to be found in the convent at that period of time, when a seal belonged only to great men, and was required but for purposes of importance, is sadly against old abbot Hugh's character for good governance. These and some other reforms, particularly the inhibition of a favourite official of the convent, William the sacrist, from meddling with the revenues of the abbey, caused an outcry against Sampson, who justifies himself to the convent by producing evidence of William the sacrist's pawning the most sacred vestments and articles in a most improvident manner. The character and the acts of Sampson appear strongly marked with resolution and prudence; and although his secular tenures introduced him into a variety of incongruous offices, such as going to war, his attendance upon king Richard with his substituted knights, and upon other occasions, and his being appointed a justice itinerant or justice in eyre, he acquitted himself creditably; but for all this, he is frequently slandered by his monks, who seem to have been a fair specimen of their kind, and justify the proofs the learned Mr. Fosbrooke has collected against their general bad character from other sources.

The anecdotes related by his biographer, detailing the occurrences in his previous life, demonstrate that he was much in advance of the age in which he lived; his troubles and adventures in his fruitless journey to Rome, and the reward he met with for his pains from his abbot, together with his remembrance of those who had assisted or comforted him under distress or trouble, are given with apparent truth and fidelity. In some matters, certainly, Jocelin has to remark, that he was not "omni parte beatum;" and his expulsion of the Jews from St. Edmund's Bury, and his address to his convent upon the vision the "great man" had seen, in some measure place his mind more on a level with the superstitious errors and prejudices of his time than other parts of his deportment would lead us to believe. His assertion on every occasion, and that in the most fearless manner, of the rights of his convent, show that the church was liable, at the very time it apparently had most influence, to encroachment and injury: an impoverished church establishment Sampson well perceived would be dependent, and, consequently, contemptible, as being unable to perform the duties of hospitality and religious service.

We next come to the case of the contest between the archbishop of Canterbury, in respect of the monks of Illeigh in Suffolk being amenable to the justice of that hundred over which the abbot had jurisdiction. The case is brought to the judgment of the king, who, because the charters were not dated (as, indeed, they were not for long afterwards), declines giving an opinion further than that which is embodied in the proverb—"catch those that catch can." Sampson has another bone to pick with the

Monk's-Illeigh folks, and requests the interference of Longchamp, bishop of Ely; but, because he does not interfere so promptly as desired, Sampson revenges himself, in a mode characteristic of the times and the superstitious feeling of the multitude: he appeals to St. Edmund in the presence of the bishop, who had come upon an unpleasant office, viz. to make a visitation, and Jocelin gravely adds, that the temporary disgrace which this statesman fell into about a year afterwards was entirely owing to divine (*i. e.* St. Edmund's) vengeance. The abbot Sampson, having by his good management replenished his coffers, sends his emissaries to Rome; and as they did not arrive with empty pockets, the pope granted, not mere personal privileges, which only endured for an abbot's life, but perpetual exemptions from visitation by the present or future archbishops of Canterbury, who, in the character of "visitors," had proved unpleasant as well as expensive judges.

But Sampson, although he quieted his ecclesiastical superiors by making his convent the pope's "spiritual daughter" (p. 24. col. 1), had other contests to go through. First, in the hundred court of Risbridge, held at Witham, the Earl of Clare demanded a matter of five shillings rent from the profits of the hundred; but my Lord Clare, like most greedy claimants, proves too much for his case, and Sampson goes away clear of the earl, who had attended the administration of justice with a large retinue for the purpose of intimidating the abbot. The abbot next has to encounter a similar contest in respect of Adam Cokefield's claim to hold the half hundred of Cosford in fee-farm for 100 shillings rent (p. 16); but the abbot was not to be intimidated, although Roger Bigot, and many other great men, came about him, and Adam went away without his fee-farm. There is a discreet silence upon some other matters which are noticed at p. 36, wherein the abbot was not so successful.

The next was a writ of right of advowson, in which five of the sixteen knights who formed the recognitors or jury in this process, desired to tempt Sampson, *i.e.* hinted that a bribe would be received; but Sampson refused this offer, and told them to give a verdict according to their conscience, or, more properly speaking, proper knowledge; for the jury in those times were supposed to be personally acquainted with the facts and merits of the case, being chosen from the *visne* or neighbourhood of the parties, which is still in law supposed to be the case. This will explain the proceedings in the next case, in which Sampson is litigant (p. 18), where there was an inquest or recognition of twelve knights, who swore, or gave their verdict in terms which justified their own knowledge of the facts. The same conclusion may be drawn from a similar process mentioned at p. 36.

The next and most important litigation was a purely secular affair (p. 19), but upon which our chronicler lays great stress, and alludes to it on one occasion as a very grievous litigation (p. 6. col. 2). Roger Bigot, who seems to have inherited his father's pertinacity, was one of the defendants: the case, as related by Jocelin, is no more than this:—Certain noblemen and gentlemen held of the barony of the abbot so much land in separate parcels, by the service of what is termed in our feudal language a whole knight's fee *, the most universal, and esteemed the most honourable species of tenure; it was as the effect of the feudal establishment in England, little else than a pure feud or fief, a term corrupted into "fee:" to make this tenure, a certain quantity of land was necessary, which was greater in earlier times than afterwards, for the reason mentioned in the note for p. 19. col. 1. line 29 from the bottom; in measure it was twelve ploughlands in the time of Edward I., and in that reign was of the annual value of 20*l.* He who held by this service was bound to attend his lord to the wars for forty days in every year if called upon; if the tenant held by the service of half a knight's fee, twenty days. There were several incidents to this tenure, termed *aid*, *marriage*, and *relief*; aids and marriage, or wardship, are alluded to in this Chronicle, and the effect of the latter shown on two occasions (pp. 17. 36). This personal service was compounded for by means of *escuage*, a pecuniary satisfaction levied by assessments upon every knight's fee; it was taken in the 5th of Henry II., when that king went on his expedition to Thoulouse, and very soon after became universal. Hence the kings, whenever they went to war, levied escuages upon their tenants in chief, who reimbursed themselves by an assessment upon their inferior tenants. This became a great abuse, and in king John's great charter, he consented that no escuage should be levied but by consent of parliament; by Henry III.'s great charter the quantum of escuage is referred to what was taken in the reign of Henry II. Now the abbot required, that his tenants who held fifty-two knights' fees and one half and one quarter of another knight's fee, should pay their escuage individually, and not as a consolidated amount, in which latter form it was paid as for forty tenures instead of fifty-two †. This, with a question of castle-guard service, another species of knights' service, was, after much trouble and expense, found against these knights; a victory Sampson uses with moderation, as he does upon a subsequent occasion (pp. 24, 25).

* The names of these tenants in knights' service are specified at p. 35.

† These fifty-two knights' fees seem afterwards to have amounted to eighty-two and a half; and these, with the liberties of St. Edmund, and the eight hundreds and the half hundred of Cosford, formed the temporal jurisdiction of the abbot.

The episodical history of Henry of Essex (p. 20) is introduced for no other purpose than to proclaim what is in other places plainly mentioned, that St. Edmund was accustomed to take summary vengeance upon those who disputed the rights of his convent.

The disputes with the townsfolk show the commencement of more serious disagreements, and illustrate the early condition of the burgesses in walled towns. Sampson grants concessions to them in spite of his convent, who seem bent upon carrying matters with a high hand against the town *.

The abbot is again harassed in respect of his secular tenures, and is obliged, as being the tenant of a baronial fief, to go beyond seas to king Richard, who was then in Normandy, and furnish him with stipendiary knights in lieu of those in England, who alleged that they were not bound to go out of the realm to perform military service. However, the knights did not evade paying their escuage, for Sampson brought back the king's writ, empowering him to assess and levy, in the shape of escuage, all that he had paid in respect of his barony, which was settled between him and his knights upon amicable terms. (pp. 24, 25.)

We now return to the interior of the convent, where the abbot occupies himself in domestic reforms by taking charge of the cellary, a measure which exposes the convent to the derision of the town and the arrogance of the clerk he had substituted, a fault Jocelin has probably overrated, as the cloister monks and the clerks were never on good terms with each other. The reparation of old buildings, and the construction of new; above all, the beautifying the shrine of the patron saint, is Sampson's purpose; that was a desirable object. This shrine had been intact even upon the occasion of king Richard's redemption, when, as ancient chronicles inform us, every alternate chalice throughout the realm had been melted down for payment of the ransom. The convent had given up, as we are told at p. 13, its treasure; even the great golden chalice that queen Eleanor had given them was offered and redeemed; but for all this the barons of the exchequer hinted that part of the shrine might be spared. The abbot's answer is in accordance with his reply to king Richard upon the subject of granting a wardship, "Do it if you dare." This shrine is to be decorated anew, and the body of St. Edmund transferred to a new loculus, or coffin, and to rest upon a marble pediment †. The damage done to the old shrine by fire, the ceremony of translating the body of the saint to its new resting-place, the ceremony of opening the shrine, and viewing the sacred body ‡, are next detailed as subjects of the highest concern and interest.

The rebellion of the monks, and their reconcilement to the abbot (who is, throughout the whole course of events, described as being in constant trouble, anxiety, strife, vexation and labour, into which his desire to effect the reformation of the affairs and manners of his convent, and his secular tenures had plunged him), some subsecival litigations respecting the market of Lakenheath, and a death-bed acknowledgment of Adam Cokefield, and his departure beyond seas to attend the king at Argenton, in January 1202, close the most prominent of the events described in this Chronicle, which has but few equals in faithfully depicturing to the antiquarian and general reader the state of monastic government and social existence in the twelfth century.

* The disputes between the townsmen and the abbey became at last so violent, that in 1327 the townsmen actually broke open and pillaged the convent, in which outrage they were assisted by several clerks and priests. The termination of this affair was, that the townsmen were amerced at an enormous sum; but the abbey confined its claim to the actual damage it had sustained, and remitted the surplus. The alderman of the town, or town-bailiff, and thirty-two priests, were outlawed; of whom some conspired against the then abbot, who at that time lay at Chevington, one of his manors. These conspirators bound the abbot, shaved him, and carried him away to London; where they removed him from street to street, till they could convey him over the Thames into Kent, and over sea to Dist in Brabant, where he was kept a long time in much misery; at length he obtained his liberation. The voluminous legal proceedings to which these outrages gave rise are fully set forth in the Monasticon, iii. 98 *et seq.*, ed. 1821. The reader is also referred to Yates's Illustration, cited *post*, p. 42. col. 1.

† The MS. Life of St. Edmund, by Lydgate, a monk of St. Edmund's Bury, (now in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 2278,) amongst its numerous illustrations, preserves one of king Henry the Sixth's performing his devotions before St. Edmund's shrine, during the occasion of a long visit he made to the convent in 1433. The shrine is represented as of gold, upon a pedestal of gothic stone-work. The illustration or illumination is copied in Dugdale's Monasticon, ed. 1821, iii. 114, and will explain to the curious reader what is not sufficiently intelligible in the present chronicler's description.

‡ In Mr. Rokewode's note at the corresponding paragraph in the Latin, it is stated that the body of St. Edmund had remained undisturbed from the time of abbot Baldwin's translation, in 1095; and on that occasion the abbot would not allow the shrine to be opened. Leofstan, the immediate predecessor of Baldwin, moved, as is related, by reproaches from the martyr, that his body was irreverently kept, opened the wooden chest in which it lay, for the sake of honouring the saint. The proceeding is detailed by Hermannus, fol. 43. 6, which Mr. Rokewode cites; and by this account it appears, that the grand miracle of the head being united to the body is again vouched. Mr. Rokewode further states, that according to Abbo, Theodred bishop of the East Angles visited the shrine of St. Edmund at Bedricsworth; and after washing and clothing the body, replaced it in the chest, which at a later time was opened by Leofstan, and at length by abbot Sampson. Mr. Rokewode refers to Surius, vi. 471, and remarks, that some of the legends of St. Edmund have a singular conformity with those of St. Cuthbert.

Islington, 11 *Jan.* 1844. T. E. TOMLINS.

THE

CHRONICLES OF JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND.

FORASMUCH as I have taken in hand to record those things which in our days have
A.D. 1173. come to pass in the church of St. Edmund, even from that year when the Flemings were taken without the town, at which time I took upon me the religious habit, being the same year wherein Hugh the prior was deposed, and Robert made prior in his stead,—I have mingled in my narration some evil things to serve as a warning, and some good things for the sake of experience.

Now it came to pass that Hugh the abbot was old, "and his eyes were dim *;" a pious and kind man was he, a good and religious monk, yet not wise or heedful in worldly affairs; one who too much trusted to his own creatures, and put faith in them, rather taking counsel of a stranger than abiding by his own judgment. To be sure, good governance and religion waxed warm in the cloister, but out doors' affairs were badly managed, in fact, every one serving under a simple and already aged lord, did that which was right in his own eyes, not that which ought to have been done. The townships of the abbot and all the hundreds were set to farm, the forests were destroyed, the manor houses threatened to fall, every thing daily got worse and worse. There was but one resource and relief to the abbot, and that was to take up monies on interest, so that thereby he might be able in some measure to keep up the dignity of his house. There befel not a term of Easter or St. Michael, for eight years before his decease, but that one or two hundred pounds at least increased in principal debt; the securities were always renewed, and the interest which accrued was converted into principal. This laxity descended from the head to the members, from the superior to the subjects. Hence it came to pass, that every official of the house had a seal of his own, and bound himself in debt at his own pleasure, to Jews as well as to Christians. Oftentimes silken caps, and golden phials, and other ornaments of the church, were pledged without the knowledge of the convent. I myself saw a security passed to William Fitz Isabel for one thousand and forty pounds, but I never could learn the consideration or the cause. I also saw another security passed to Isaac the son of Rabbi Jocee, for three hundred pounds, but I know not wherefore. I also saw a third security passed to Benedict the Jew of Norwich, for eight hundred and fourscore pounds; and this was the origin of that debt. Our parlour was destroyed, and it was given in charge to William the sacrist, will he nill he, that he should restore it; and he privily borrowed from Benedict the Jew forty marks at interest, and gave him a security sealed with a certain seal, which used to hang at the shrine of St. Edmund, wherewith the guilds and fraternities were wont to be sealed; this seal at last, but in no great haste, was broken by order of the convent. Now when that debt had increased to one hundred pounds, the Jew came bearing the precept of our lord the king touching this debt of the sacrist; and then it was that all that had been secret from the abbot and convent was laid open. The abbot waxed exceeding wroth, alleging that he possessed the privilege of our lord the pope, giving him power of deposing William his sacrist whensoever it pleased him. Howbeit, some one went to the abbot, and excusing the sacrist, he so wheedled the abbot that he permitted a security to be passed to Benedict the Jew for four hundred pounds, payable at the end of four years, to wit, for one hundred pounds which had then already accrued for interest, and also for another one hundred pounds, which the same Jew had advanced to the sacrist for the use of the abbot. And the sacrist, in full chapter, undertook for the entire of that debt to be paid, the abbot quietly putting up with the whole matter, and not even affixing his own seal, just as if that debt was no concern of his. But so it was, that at the end of the four years, there was not from whence that debt could be discharged; and then there was made a new security for eight hundred and fourscore pounds, payable at set terms, at each term fourscore pounds. Moreover, the same Jew had many other securities of smaller account, and one which was for fourteen years; so this debt alone came to one thousand and two hundred pounds, besides the interest that had accrued. Now R.,

* Gen. xxvii. 1.

the almoner of our lord the king, coming to us, signified to the lord abbot that information had reached the king concerning such great debts; thereupon after consultation had between the prior and a few others, the almoner was conducted into the chapter house, where all of us being seated, and holding our peace, the abbot said, "Look you, here is the king's almoner, our and your lord and friend, who, moved purely by the love of God and of St. Edmund, has intimated to us that the king has heard something wrong of us and you, and particularly that the affairs of the church, both internally and externally, are badly governed; and therefore I desire and command, that upon your vow of obedience, ye state and explain openly how things really are." Hereupon the prior, standing up and speaking as one for all*, said that the church was in good order, and that discipline was strictly and religiously observed in-doors, and that matters out-of-doors were carefully and discreetly conducted, save some slight debt withal, in which ourselves like our neighbours were indebted; but that, in fact, there was no debt which could embarrass us. The almoner hearing this, said he was rejoiced that he had heard the testimony of the convent concerning this matter, that is, what the prior had spoken. The very same words the prior upon another occasion used, as did Master Geoffry of Constantine, speaking on behalf of and excusing the abbot, when Richard the archbishop, in his own right as legate, visited our chapter, before we had such exemption as we now enjoy. I myself, at that time a novice, on a convenient occasion, talked these things over with the master who instructed me in discipline, and to whose instruction I was committed, to wit, Master Sampson, the very same who afterwards became abbot. "What is this," I said, "that I hear; that you should hold your tongue while you see and hear such things, thou who art a cloistered monk, and regardest not offices, and fearest God more than man?" But he answering said, "My son, the newly burnt child dreads the fire; and so it is with me and with many others. Hugh the prior hath been lately deprived of his office and sent into exile; Dennis, and Hugh, and Roger of Hingham, have but lately returned home from exile. Even I in like manner was imprisoned, and afterwards sent to Acre, because we spoke for the good of our church, in opposition to the abbot. This is the hour of darkness; this is the hour when flatterers rule and are believed, and their might is strengthened, and we cannot strive against it; these things must be borne with for a time. 'Let the Lord look upon it and judge †.'"

Now there came intelligence to Hugh
A.D. 1176. the Abbot, that Richard, the Archbishop of Canterbury, purposed coming to make a visitation of our church by virtue of his authority as legate; and thereupon the abbot, after consultation, sent to Rome and sought a privilege of exemption from the power of the aforesaid legate. On the messenger's return from Rome there was not the means of discharging what he had promised to our lord the pope and the cardinals, unless, indeed, under the special circumstances of the case, the cross which was over the high altar, the Virgin Mary, and the St. John, which images Stigand, the archbishop, had adorned with a vast quantity of gold and silver, and had given to St. Edmund, could be made use of for this purpose. There were certain of our convent who, being on terms of intimacy with the abbot, said, that the shrine of St. Edmund itself ought to be stripped, as the means of obtaining such a privilege; these persons not considering the great peril that would ensue from obtaining ever so valuable a privilege by such means as this; for if there should hereafter be any abbot of ours who was induced to waste the possessions of the Church, and to despoil his convent, then there would be no one who could complain touching the wrongs done by an abbot who would have no reason to fear the visitation of a bishop, archbishop, or legate, so that impunity would favour the attempt to commit such a wrong.

In those days the cellarer, as well as other officials, borrowed monies at interest from Jurnet the Jew (without apprising the convent), upon a security sealed with the above-mentioned seal. Now when that debt had mounted up to sixty pounds, the convent was summoned to pay the cellarer's debt. The cellarer was deposed, although he said it was hard to deal thus with him, stating, that he had for three years entertained all the guests in the guest-house by the abbot's express command, whether the abbot had been absent or at home, and even those guests which the abbot ought himself to entertain, according to the rule of the abbey. Master Dennis was made cellarer in his stead, who by his circumspection and good management reduced that debt of sixty pounds to thirty pounds; towards which debt we had applied those thirty marks which Benedict of Blakeham gave to the convent for holding the manors of Nowton and Whepsted. But the securities of the Jew remained with the Jew even to this day, wherein are contained the twenty-six pounds of principal and interest of the cellarer's debt.

Now on the third day after Master Dennis became cellarer, three knights with their esquires were received in the guest-house that they might there be refreshed, the abbot then being at home, and abiding in his inner chamber; all which, when this magnanimous Achilles had heard, not willing to waver in his stewardship as the others had done, he rose up, and took the key of the cellary, and taking with him those knights to the abbot's hall, and approaching the abbot, said, "My lord, thou well knowest that the rule of the abbey is, that knights and lay folks should be entertained in your hall, if the abbot be at home; I am not desirous, nor indeed am I able to receive those guests if belongeth unto thee to entertain; else take back the keys of your cellary, and appoint some other cellarer at thy good pleasure." The abbot hearing this, will he, nill he, entertained those knights, and ever afterwards entertained knights and lay folks according to ancient rule, and in the same way as now they are received when the abbot is at home.

Once upon a time Hugh the abbot, wishing to reconcile matters with Master Sampson, appointed him his subsacrist; and he, although often accused, yet was the oftener promoted from one office to another; at one time he was appointed guest-master, at another time pittance-master, at another time third prior, and again subsacrist; and many

* 2 Cor. v. 14. † Exodus v. 21.

there were who then strove against him that afterwards flattered him. But he, not acting as the other officials did, never could be induced to turn flatterer; whereupon the abbot said, that he had never before seen such a man as Sampson the subsacrist, whom he could in no wise bend to his will.

Now it bethought Hugh the abbot, in the twenty-third year of his being abbot, that he would go to St. Thomas, for the purpose of performing his devotions: he had nearly got to the end of his journey on the morrow of the nativity of the blessed Mary, when, near Rochester, he most unhappily fell from his horse, so that his knee-pan was put out and lodged in the ham of his leg. The physicians came about him, and sorely tormented him, but they healed him not. He was brought back to us in a horse-litter, and received with great concern and attention, as was most fitting. What more? His thigh mortified, and the disorder mounted to his heart, and the pain brought on a tertian fever, and on the fourth fit he expired, and rendered his soul to God on the morrow of St. Brice *. Ere he was dead, every thing was snatched away by his servants, so that nothing at all remained in the abbot's house except the stools and the tables which could not be carried away. There was hardly left for the abbot his coverlet and two quilts, old and torn, which some who had taken away the good ones had placed in their stead. There was not even a single article of a penny's worth that could be distributed among the poor for the good of his soul. The sacrist said, it was not his business to have attended to this, alleging that he had furnished the expenditure of the abbot and his household for one whole month; because neither the firmars who held the towns would give any thing before the appointed time, nor would creditors advance any thing, seeing that he was sick even unto death. Luckily, the farmer of Palegrave furnished us with fifty shillings to be distributed among the poor, by reason that he entered upon the farm of Palegrave on that same day. But those very fifty shillings were afterwards again refunded to the king's bailiffs, who demanded the whole farm-rent for the king's use.

A.D. 1180. 9 Sept.

Hugh the abbot being buried, it was ordered in chapter that some one should give intelligence to Ranulf de Glanville, the justiciar of England, of the death of the abbot. Master Sampson and Master R. Ruffus, our monks, quickly went beyond seas, relating the same fact to our lord the king, and obtained letters that the possessions and the rents of the abbot should be wholly in the hands of the prior and convent, and that the remainder of the abbey should be in the hand of the king. The wardship of the abbey was committed to Robert of Cokefield and Robert of Flamville, the steward, who forthwith put by gage and safe pledges † all those servants and relatives of the abbot to whom the abbot had, after the commencement of his illness, given any thing, as well as those who had taken any thing away belonging to the abbot, and also the abbot's chaplain our monk, whom the prior bailed; and they, entering into our vestiary, caused all the ornaments of the church to be noted down in an inventory of two parts.

The abbey being thus vacant, the prior above all things studied to keep peace in the convent, and to preserve the honour of the church in entertaining guests, being desirous of irritating no one, of not provoking any body to anger, in fact, of keeping all persons and things in quietness, nevertheless winking at some acts in our officials which needed reformation, and especially in the sacrist, just as if it was no business of his how he managed the sacristery, more especially as during the time the abbey was vacant, he neither satisfied any debt or erected any building, but the oblations and obventions were sadly misapplied. Wherefore the prior, who was the head of the convent, seemed by the major part to be highly censurable, and was said to be remiss; and this thing our brethren called to mind among themselves, when it came to the point of making choice of an abbot.

Our cellarer entertained all guests, of whatsoever condition they were, at the expense of the convent.

William the sacrist on his part, gave and spent as he chose, kind man! bestowing indiscriminately; "blinding the eyes of all with gifts *."

Sampson the subsacrist, being master over the workmen, did his best that no breach, chink, crack, or flaw should be left unrepaired so far as he was able; whereby he acquired great favour with the convent, and especially with the cloister monks. In those days was our choir built under Sampson's direction, he ordering the designs of the paintings, and composing elegiac verses; he also made a great draught of stone and sand for building the great tower of the church; and being asked, whence he procured money for this work? he answered, that certain of the burgesses had privily given him monies for building and completing the tower. Nevertheless, some of our brethren said, that Warin our monk, the keeper of the shrine, together with Sampson the subsacrist, had by concert between themselves pilfered some portion of the offerings to the shrine, in order that they might disburse the same for the necessary purposes of the church, namely, for the building of the tower; being the more ready to believe this when they saw that the offerings were expended for extraordinary purposes by others, who, to speak plainly, stole them. And these before-named two men, in order to remove from themselves the suspicion of such a favourable theft, made a certain hollow trunk, with a hole in the middle or at the top, and fastened with an iron lock; this they caused to be set up in the great church, near the door without the choir, in the way of the people, so that therein persons should put their contributions for the building of the tower.

Now William the sacrist had a jealousy of his companion Sampson, as had many others who took part with the same William, Christians as well as Jews; the Jews, I say, to whom the sacrist was said to be father and protector, whose protection they indeed enjoyed, having free ingress and egress, and going all over the monastery, rambling about the altars and by the shrine while high mass was being celebrated. Moreover, their monies were kept safe in our treasury, under the care of the sacrist, and, what was still more improper, their wives, with their little ones, were lodged in our pitancery in time of war. His enemies or adversa-

* November 15.

† i. e. held to bail.

* Deut. xvi. 19

ries having, therefore, consulted together how they might suddenly overcome Sampson, they conferred with Robert of Cokefield and his companion, who was one of the wardens of the abbey, and persuaded them to this—that they should, on behalf of the king, forbid that any one should erect any fabric or building so long as the abbey was vacant; but that, on the other hand, the monies from the offerings should be collected, and kept for the purpose of discharging some debt. And thus was Sampson beguiled, and "his strength departed from him*," nor could he from thenceforth labour as he had desired. Indeed his opponents were able to delay, but not annul, his purpose; for why? having regained his strength, and "pulled down the two pillars†," to wit, having removed the two wardens of the abbey, through whom the malice of others was assisted, the Lord gave him, in process of time, the means of fulfilling his desire of building the aforesaid tower, and brought it to pass even as he wished. And so it came to pass, just as if it had been said to him from above, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things‡," &c.

The abbey being thus vacant, oftentimes, as it was our duty, we besought God and the holy martyr St. Edmund, that He would vouchsafe to us and our church a meet shepherd, thrice every week singing the seven penitential psalms prostrate in the choir, after going forth from chapter; and there were some amongst us to whom had it been made appear who should have been the future abbot, would not have prayed so devoutly. As concerned the choice of an abbot, assuming the king gave us free election, many spoke in diverse ways—some publicly, some privately; and "so many men so many opinions§." One certain person said of another certain person, "That brother is a good monk, a likely person; he is well conversant with the rule and discipline of the church; although he may not be so perfect a philosopher as others, he is well able to be an abbot. The abbot Ording was an illiterate man, and yet he was a good abbot, and wisely governed this house: it is read in fables, that it had been better for the frogs to have chosen a log for a king, upon whom they might rely, than a serpent, who venomously hissed, and after his hisses devoured his subjects."—Another would answer, "How may this be? how can an unlearned man deliver a sermon in chapter, or to the people on holidays? how can he who doth not understand the Scriptures attain the knowledge of 'binding and loosing‖?'—whereas the cure of souls is the art of arts, and science of sciences. Far be it that a dumb statue should be set up in the church of St. Edmund, where many learned and studious men are well known to be."

Also, said one of another, "That brother is a good clerk, eloquent and careful, strict in rule; he hath much loved the convent, and hath undergone many hardships in respect of the possessions of the church: he is worthy to be made abbot." Another answered, "From good clerks, O Lord, deliver us: That thou wouldest be pleased to preserve us from the barrators of Norfolk, we beseech thee to hear us, good Lord." Moreover, one certain person said of another certain person, "That brother is a good husband, which is proved from his department, and from the offices which he hath well served, and by the buildings and reparations which he has performed. He is able to travail for and defend the house, and is, moreover, something of a clerk, although 'too much learning hath not made him mad*.'" Another answers, "God will not that a man who can neither read nor chant, nor perform divine services—a wicked and unjust man, and a grinder of the faces of the poor, should be abbot." Also said one of another, "That brother is a kind man, affable and amiable, peaceful and well-regulated, open-hearted and liberal, a learned man and an eloquent, and beloved by many, in-doors as well as out; and such a man might, with God's permission, become abbot to the great honour of the church." The other answered, "It is no honour, but rather a burden, to have a man who is too nice in his meat and drink; who thinks it a virtue to sleep long; who is expert in spending much, and yet gets little; who is snoring when others are watching; who always is desirous to be in plenty, nor yet careth for the debts which increase from day to day, nor considereth the means of discharging expenses; hating anxiety and trouble; caring for nought so long as one day cometh and another goeth; a man cherishing and fostering flatterers and liars; a man who is one thing in name and another in deed. From such a prelate defend us, O Lord!" Also said a certain one of his fellow, "That man is almost wiser than all of us put together, both in secular and ecclesiastical matters; a man of lofty counsel, strict in rule, learned and eloquent, and of proper stature; such a prelate would beseem our church." The other answers, "Very true, if he were of known and approved reputation. His character is questionable; although common report may lie, yet it may some times speak truth. And although that man is wise, of lowly carriage in chapter, devout in psalmody, strict in the cloister whilst he is in the cloister; yet 'tis mere outward show with him. What if he do excel in any office; he is too scornful, lightly esteems the monks, is closely intimate with secular persons; and should he be angry, scarcely returns an answer with a good grace to any brother, or to one even asking a question of him." I heard in like manner one brother disparaged by some, because he was slow of speech; of whom it was said that he had paste or malt in his mouth when he was called upon to speak. And as for myself, being at that time a child, I understood as a child, "I spake as a child†;" and I said I never could consent that any one should be made abbot unless he knew somewhat of dialectics, and knew how to discern truth from falsehood. Again, a certain person, who in his own eyes seemed very wise, said, "May the almighty Lord bestow on us a foolish and simple shepherd, so that it should be the more needful for him to care for us!" I heard in like manner a certain studious and learned man, and honourable by the nobility of his family, disparaged by some of our priors merely for this reason—because he was a novice. The novices, on the other hand,

* Judges xvi. 17. 19. † Ibid. ver. 29, 30.
‡ Matt xxv. 21. § Ter. Phormio, act ii. sc. 3. 14.
‖ Matt. xvi. 19.

* Acts xxvi. 24, 25. † 1 Cor. xiii. 11.

said of the priors, that infirm old men were by no means fit to govern a convent; and thus many persons spake many things, "and each was fully persuaded in his own mind *."

I observed Sampson the subsacrist as he was sitting along with others (since at these private assemblies, at bloodletting season, the cloister monks were wont alternately to reveal to each other the secrets of the heart, and to talk over matters with every one)—I saw him, I say, sitting along with the others, quietly chuckling, and noting the words of each, and after a lapse of twenty years calling to mind some of the before-written opinions. In whose hearing I used to reply thus to these critics, saying, that if we were to stay in the choice of an abbot until we were to find one who should be above disparagement or fault, we never should find such an one, for no one alive is without fault, and *nihil omni parte beatum* †. Upon one particular occasion I was unable to restrain myself, but must needs blurt out my own private opinion, thinking that I spoke to trusty ears; and I then said, that a certain person who formerly had a great regard for me, and had conferred many benefits upon me, was unworthy of the abbacy, and that I considered another was more worthy; and, in fact, I named one for whom I had less regard. I spoke according to mine own conscience, rather considering the common weal of the church than my own advancement; and true it was what I said, as the sequel proved. And behold, one of the sons of Belial disclosed my saying to my friend and benefactor; for which reason, even to this day, never could I since, *nec prece nec pretio*, fully regain his goodwill. "What I have said I have said ‡."

Et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum §.

One thing remains, that I take heed to my ways for the future; and if I should live so long as to see the abbey vacant, I shall look carefully as to what, to whom, and when I shall offer my opinion on such a matter, so that I neither offend God by lying, or man by speaking amiss. I shall then advise (should I last so long), that we choose not too good a monk, nor yet an overwise clerk, neither one too simple or too weak; lest if he be overwise in his own conceit, he may be too confident in his own judgment, and contemn others; or if he be too boorish, he may become a byword to others. I know that some one has said, *Medio tutissimus ibis*, as also that saying, *Medium tenuere beati*. Or perhaps, after all, it may be the best course to hold my peace, that I may say in my heart, "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it ||."

The abbey being vacant, Augustine the archbishop of Norway took up his abode with us, in the house of the abbot, receiving by the king's writ ten shillings a day from the revenues of the abbey. This circumstance had a considerable tendency to obtain for us our free election, he bearing witness of what was well, and publicly declaring before the king what he had seen and heard. At that time the holy child Robert suffered martyrdom, and was buried in our church; "and many signs and wonders were wrought among the people *," as we have elsewhere written.

A D. 1181, 10 June.

One year and three months having elapsed since the death of Hugh the abbot, the king commanded by his letters, that our prior and twelve of the convent, in whose mouth the judgment of our body might agree, should appear on a certain day before him, to make choice of an abbot. On the morrow after the receipt of the letters, we all of us met in chapter, for the purpose of discussing so important a matter. In the first place the letters of our lord the king were read to the convent; next we besought and charged the prior, at the peril of his soul, that he would, according to his conscience, name twelve who were to accompany him, from whose life and conversation it might be depended upon that they would not swerve from the right; who acceding to our charge, by the dictation of the Holy Ghost, named six from one side, and six from the other side of the choir, and without gainsaying, satisfied us on this point. From the right hand choir were named, Geoffrey of Fordham, Benedict, Master Dennis, Master Sampson the subsacrist, Hugh the third prior, and Master Hermer, at that time a novice; from the left hand side, William the sacrist, Andrew, Peter de Broc, Roger the cellarer, Master Ambrose, Master Walter the physician. But one said, "What shall be done if these thirteen cannot agree before our lord the king in the choice of an abbot?" A certain one answered, "For that would be to us and to our church a perpetual shame +." Therefore many were desirous that the choice should be made at home, before the rest departed, so that by this forecast there should be no disagreement in the presence of the king; but that seemed a foolish and inconsistent thing to do, without the king's assent; for as yet it was by no means a settled thing that we should be able to obtain a free election from the king. Sampson the subsacrist, speaking by the Spirit of God ‡, "Let there be," said he, "a middle course, so that from either side peril may be avoided. Let four confessors be chosen from the convent, together with two out of the chief seniors of the convent, men of good reputation, who having set God before their eyes, and laid their hands upon the Gospels, shall choose amongst themselves three men of the convent most fit for this office, according to the rule of St. Benedict, and reduce their names into a writing; and let them close up that writing with a seal, and so being closed up, let it be committed to us who are about to go to the court; and when we shall have come before the king, and it shall be certified to us that we have a free election, then, and not till then, shall the seal be broken, and so shall we be sure as to the three who are to be nominated before the king." And it was settled amongst us, that in case our lord the king should not grant to us one of ourselves, then that the seal should be brought back, and delivered to six jurors, so that this secret of theirs should remain for ever concealed, at the peril of their souls. In this counsel we all acquiesced, and four confessors were then named; to wit, Eustace, Gilbert of Alveth, Hugh the third prior, Anthony, and two other old

A.D. 1182. Feb.

* Rom. xiv. 5.
† Hor. Carm. lib. II. 16.
‡ John xix. 22.
§ Horat. 1 Epist. xviii.
|| Mat. xix. 12.

* Acts v. 12.
† Jer. xxiii. 40.
‡ 1 Cor. xii. 3.

men, Thurstan and Ruald. Which being done, we went forth chanting "Verba mea *;" and the aforesaid six remained behind, having the rule of St. Benedict in their hands; and they fulfilled that business as it had been preordained. Now whilst these six were treating of this matter, we were thinking diverse things of diverse persons who were likely to be chosen, all of us taking it for granted that Sampson would be one of the three, considering his travails and perils of death in his journey to Rome for the advancement of our church, and how he was badly treated, and ironed, and imprisoned by Hugh the abbot, merely for speaking for the common weal; and who could not be induced to flatter, although he might by compulsion hold his tongue. After some delay, the convent being summoned, returned to chapter; and the old men said they had done according to what had been enjoined them. Then the prior asked, "How shall it be if our lord the king will not receive either of those three that are nominated in the writing?" And it was answered, that whosoever our lord the king should fix upon should be adopted; there was but one mode of proceeding for our church. It was also superadded, that if those thirteen brethren should see any thing that ought to be amended by another writing, they should so amend it by common assent or counsel. Sampson the subsacrist, sitting at the feet of the prior, said, "It will be profitable for the church if we all swear on the word of truth, that upon whomsoever the lot of election shall fall, he should treat the convent according to reason, nor change the chief officers without the assent of the convent, nor surcharge the sacrist, nor admit any one to be a monk without assent of the convent." And to this same thing we all of us assented, holding up our right hand in token of assent. It was, moreover, provided, that if our lord the king should desire to make a foreigner abbot, such person should not be adopted by the thirteen, unless upon counsel of the brethren remaining at home.

Upon the morrow, therefore, those thirteen took their way to court. Last of all was Sampson, the purveyor of their charges, because he was subsacrist, carrying about his neck a little box, wherein were contained the letters of the convent—as if he alone was the servant of them all—and without an esquire, bearing his frock looped under his elbows, who going out of the court lodge, followed his fellows afar off. In their journey to the court, the brethren conversing all together, Sampson said, that it would be well if they all swore that whosoever should be made abbot should appropriate the churches of the lordships belonging to the convent for the purposes of hospitality; whereto all agreed, save the prior, who said, "We have sworn enough already; ye are all so able to restrict the abbot that is to be, that I shall not care to obtain the abbacy;" and upon this occasion they swore not at all, and it was well they did so, for had they sworn to this the oath would not have been observed.

On the very day that the thirteen departed, we were all sitting together in the cloister, when William of Hastings, one of our brethren, said, "I know that we shall have one of our convent to be abbot." And being asked how he came to be so certain of this, he replied, that he had beheld in a dream a prophet clothed in white, standing before the gates of the monastery, and that he sought of him, in the name of God, whether we should have an abbot of our own. And the prophet answered, "You shall have one of your own body, but he shall rage among you as a wolf;" of which dream the interpretation followed in part, because the future abbot cared more to be feared than loved, as many were accustomed to say. There also sat along with us another brother, Edmund by name, asserting that Sampson was about to be abbot, and narrating the vision he had seen the previous night. He said, he beheld in his dream Roger the cellarer and Hugh the third prior, standing before the altar, and Sampson in the midst, taller by the shoulders upward, wrapt round with a long gown down to his feet looped over his shoulders, and standing as a champion ready to do battle. And, as it seemed to him in his dream, St. Edmund arose from his shrine, and, as if sickly, showed his feet and naked legs, and some one approaching and desiring to cover the feet of the saint, the saint said, "Approach me not; behold, he shall veil my feet,"—pointing with his finger towards Sampson. This is the interpretation of the dream:—by his seeming to be a champion is signified, that the future abbot should always be in travail; at one time moving a controversy against the archbishop of Canterbury, concerning pleas of the crown, at another time against the knights of St. Edmund, to compel them to pay entire escuages, at another time with the burgesses for standing in the market, at another time with the sokemen for the suits of the hundreds; even as a champion who willeth by fighting to overcome his adversaries, that he may be able to regain the rights and liberties of his church; but he veiled the feet of the holy martyr when he perfectly completed the towers of the church, commenced a hundred years before. Such dreams as these did our brethren dream, which were immediately published throughout the cloister, afterwards through the court lodge, so that before the evening it was a matter of common talk amongst the townsfolk, they saying this man and that man are elected, and one of them will be abbot.

At last the prior and the twelve that were with him, after many fatigues and delays, stood before the king at Waltham *, the manor of the bishop of Winchester, upon the second Sunday in Lent; whom the king graciously received, and saying that he wished to act according to God's will and what was due to our church, commanded the brethren by prolocutors, to wit, Richard, the bishop of Winchester, and Geoffrey the chancellor, afterwards archbishop of York, that they should nominate three members of our convent. The prior and brethren retiring, as if to confer thereupon, drew forth the sealed writing and opened it, and found these names written in this wise—*Sampson, subsacrista—Roger, celerarius—Hugo, tercius prior.* Hereupon those brethren who were of higher standing were flushed; they also marvelled that this same Hugh should be the elector as well as the

A.D. 1182. Feb. 21.

* The 5th Psalm, according to the Vulgate, which commences with these words.

* Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire.

elected. But, insomuch as they could not alter what was done, by mutual arrangement they changed the order of the names; first naming Hugh, because he was third prior; secondly, Roger the cellarer; thirdly, Sampson; doing according to that saying, "the last shall be first, and the first last *." The king, first enquiring whether they were born in his realm, and in whose lordship, said, he knew them not, directing that with those three some other three of the convent should be nominated; which being assented to, William the sacrist said, "Our prior ought to be nominated because he is our head," which was directly allowed. The prior said, "William the sacrist is a good man;" the like was said of Dennis, and that was settled. These being nominated before the king without any delay, the king marvelled, saying, "These men have been quick about it; God is with them." Next the king commanded that, for the honour of his kingdom, they should name three persons of other houses. On hearing this, the brethren were afraid, suspecting some craft; at last, upon conference, it was resolved that they should name the three, but upon this understanding, to wit, that they would not receive any one of those three, unless by assent of the convent at home. And they named those three, Master Nicholas of Waringeford, afterwards (and at this time) abbot of Malmesbury; Bertrand, prior of Saint Faith, afterwards abbot of Chertsey; and the lord H. of St. Neot's, a monk of Beck, a man highly religious, and very circumspect in spiritual as well as temporal affairs. This being performed, the king commanded, giving thanks, that three should be struck from the nine, and forthwith the three aliens were struck off, to wit, the prior of St. Faith, afterwards abbot of Chertsey, and Nicholas, a monk of St. Alban's, afterwards abbot of Malmesbury, and the prior of St. Neot's; William the sacrist voluntarily retired, two of the five were struck out by command of the king, and, ultimately, one out of the remaining three, and then there remained but two, to wit, the prior and Sampson. Then at length, the before-named prolocutors of our lord the king were called to the council of the brethren, and Dennis speaking, as one for all, began by commending the persons of the prior and Sampson, saying, that each of them was learned, that either was good, that both were of meritorious life and good character; but always in the corner of his discourse he enlarged upon Sampson, multiplying words in his praise, saying that he was a man strict in life, severe in reforming excesses, and fit to encounter troubles; moreover heedful in secular matters, and approved in various offices. The bishop of Winchester replied, "We see what it is you wish to say; from your address we collect that your prior seems to you to have been somewhat remiss, and that, in fact, you wish to have him who is called Sampson." Dennis answered, "Either of them is good, but, by God's help, we desire to have the best." To whom the bishop, "Of two fit men the most perfect should be chosen; speak out at once: is it your wish to have Sampson?" And it was answered distinctly by many, and by the major part of us, "We will have Sampson," no one gainsaying; nevertheless, some studiously held their peace, being fearful of offending either one or the other. Sampson was then named to the king, and, after a brief consult with those about him, we all of us are called in; then the king said, "Ye present to me Sampson—I know him not; had ye presented to me your prior I should have accepted him, because I have known and am well acquainted with him: but now I will do as you desire me. Take heed to yourselves; by the very eyes of God, if ye act unworthily, I shall call you to severe account." And he enquired of the prior, whether he assented to this choice, and agreed thereto; who replied, that he was well content it should be so, and that Sampson was much more worthy of the dignity.

Sampson being thus chosen, and falling down at the king's feet, and kissing him, hastily arose, and forthwith went towards the altar, singing "Miserere mei Dominus" together with his brethren, erect in gait, and with unmoved countenance. The king observing this, said to the bystanders, "By the eyes of God, this one that is chosen, seems to himself worthy of keeping the abbacy." Now when the news of the election arrived at the convent, it gladdened all or nearly all the monks, and some of the officers also, but only a few. "'Tis well," many said, "because it is well." Others said, "Not so; verily we are all deceived."

The elected, before he returned to us, A.D. 1182. 28 Feb. received his benediction from the lord Winchester, who, at the same time, placing the mitre on the head of the abbot, and the ring on his finger, said, "This is the dignity of the abbots of St. Edmund; my experience early taught me this." The abbot, therefore, retaining three monks with himself, dispatched the others homewards, sending word by them of his intended arrival on Palm Sunday, and giving charge to certain of them to provide the things necessary for his day of festival. As he returned homewards, a multitude of new relations came about him offering to serve him, but he answered all of them that he was content with the servants of the prior, nor could he retain others until he had obtained the assent of the convent. Nevertheless, he retained one knight who was well spoken and learned in the law, not so much upon the score of relationship, but on account of his usefulness, he being well practised in secular suits; and him he received in his new state as an assessor in secular controversies, for he was a new abbot, and inexperienced in such concerns, as he himself was free to declare; indeed, before he took upon himself to be abbot, there never had been an instance where gage and safe pledge had been given. With the accustomed honours, and with a procession, was he received by his convent on Palm Sunday. The abbot's reception was in this wise: on the overnight he lay at Kentford, and we having learnt the exact time, went forth to meet him with great solemnity (after going from chapter), up to the gate of the cemetery, with ringing of bells inside the choir and without. Himself, indeed, encompassed by a multitude of men, espying the convent, dismounted from his horse outside the threshold of the gate, and causing his shoes to be taken off, was received barefooted, the prior and sacrist on each side conducting him. We, on our parts chanted the responses "*Benedictus Dominus*" in the office of the Trinity, and then "*Martyri*

* Mark x. 31; Matt. xix. 30.

adhuc" in the office of St. Edmund, leading the abbot up to the high altar. This being finished, the organs and bells were still, and the prayer, "*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus miserere huic*," being said by the prior over the abbot, who was prostrate, and an offering made by the abbot, and kissing the shrine, he returned into the choir, and there Sampson, the precentor, took him by the hand and led him to the abbot's throne at the west end, where the abbot still standing, the precentor straightway began, "*Te Deum laudamus*," and whilst this was being sung, the abbot was kissed by the prior and the whole convent according to rule. All this being performed, the abbot proceeded to the chapter-house, the whole convent following him, with many others. "*Benedicite*" having been said, in the first place he gave thanks to the convent that they had chosen him who was, he said, the least of them all to be their lord and shepherd, not on account of his own merits, but solely by the will of God. And beseeching them briefly, that they would offer prayers for him, he addressed his discourse to the clerks and knights, requiring them that they should assist him with their advice according to the burden of the charge entrusted to him. And Wimer, the sheriff, answering for them all, said, "And we are ready to stand by you in counsel and assistance on every occasion, as we did to our dear lord, whom the Lord has called to his kingdom, and for the honour of the holy martyr St. Edmund." And then were the charters of the king concerning the gift of the abbey produced and read in full audience. And lastly, after a prayer by the abbot himself, to the effect that God might provide for him according to his divine grace, and "*amen*" being responded by all, he retired to his chamber, spending his day of festival with more than a thousand dinner guests with great rejoicing.

While these things were taking place, I became the prior's chaplain, and within four months was made the abbot's chaplain, noting many things, and committing them to memory. On the morrow of his feast the abbot called to him the prior and some few others, as if seeking advice from them, for he himself knew what he would do*. He said, that a new seal should be made, with a mitre graven thereon, although his predecessors had nothing of the sort; but for a time we used the seal of our prior, subscribing at the termination of all our letters, that he had no seal of his own, and therefore it behoved him to use that of the prior. Afterwards, setting his household in order, he appointed divers servants to various duties, saying, that he had thought he had got twenty-six horses in his court-yard, and that a child must first creep, and then stand upright and walk, enjoining this to his servants beyond all things, that they should take heed that in his new state he be not scandalized by a lack of meat and drink, but rather that they in all things should anxiously provide for the hospitality of the house. In ordering and appointing these and all other things, fully relying upon God's providence and his own understanding, he judged it beneath him to require counsel at another's hand, as if he was not able to look after his own affairs. The monks marvelled, the knights were discontented, condemning him of arrogance, and in some measure scandalizing him at the king's court, and saying that he refused to govern according to the advice of his own free men. He indeed suppressed his own private counsel from the heads of the abbey, lay as well as clerks, indeed from all those without whose advice and assistance the abbey as it seemed could not be governed; and by reason of this circumstance, Ranulf de Glanville, justiciar of England, at first held him in distrust, and was less gracious to him than was decent, until it was made fully appear, by good evidence, that the abbot had been acting with due caution and prudence in respect of indoors as well as of external matters.

* John vi. 6.

A general court having been summoned, all the barons, knights, and freemen appear to make their homage on the fourth day of Easter; when, behold, Thomas of Hastings, with a great multitude of knights, came introducing Henry, his nephew, not yet a knight, claiming the stewartry with its perquisites, according to the tenor of his charter. To whom the abbot replied, "I do not refuse Henry his right, nor do I even wish so to do. If he were competent to serve me in his own person, I would assign him necessaries for ten men and eight horses in my own court-lodge, according to the tenor of his charter: if ye present to me a steward, his deputy, who is competent and able to perform the duty of steward, I will receive him in the same manner as my predecessor retained him at the time of his decease, to wit, with four horses and their appurtenances. And if this does not content ye, I shall remove the plaint before the king or his chief justice." Hereupon the business was deferred: ultimately there was presented to him a simple and foolish steward, Gilbert by name, whom after he had received into his own household, he spoke of to his friends as follows: "If there be a default in the administration of the king's justice through the unskilfulness of the steward, he will be in mercy of the king, and not I, for this, that he claimeth the stewardship by hereditary right; and therefore I had much rather receive him than a sharper witted man to deceive me. By God's assistance I trust I shall be my own steward." After receipt of the homages, the abbot sued for an aid from the knights, who promised from each twenty shillings; but upon the instant they took counsel together, and withheld twelve pounds in respect of twelve knights, alleging, that those twelve ought to assist the other forty in keeping their castle-guards, and for their escuages, as well as in respect of the abbot's aid. The abbot, hearing this, waxed wroth, and said to his intimate friends, that if he lived long enough, he would give them turn for turn and wrong for wrong.

After these things, the abbot caused inquisition to be made throughout each manor, touching the annual quit rents from the freemen, and the names of the labourers and their tenements, and the services due in respect of each, and reduced all into writing. Likewise he repaired those old halls and rickety houses where kites and crows hovered about; he built new chapels, and likewise inner chambers and upper stories in many places, where there never had been any dwelling-house at all, but only barns. He also enclosed many parks, which he replenished with beasts of chase, keeping a hunts-

man with dogs ; and, upon the visit of any person of quality, sat with his monks in some walk of the wood, and sometimes saw the coursing of the dogs, but I never saw him taste of the game. He approved much land, and brought it into tillage, in all things looking forward to the benefit likely to accrue to the abbey ; but I wish he had been as careful when he held the manors of the convent *in commendam*. Nevertheless, he for a time kept our manors of Bradfield and Rougham in hand, making up the deficiencies of the farms by the expenditure of forty pounds; these he afterwards reassigned to us, when he heard that dissatisfaction was expressed in the convent, on account of his keeping our manors in his own hand. Likewise in managing these manors, as well as in all other matters, he appointed keepers far more careful than their predecessors, were they monk or lay, and who looked after things more providently for us and our lands. He also held the eight hundreds in his own hand, and after the death of Robert of Cokefield, he took on hand the hundred of Cosford, all which he committed to the keeping of those servants who were of his own table ; referring matters of greater moment to his own decision, and deciding by means of others upon matters of lesser import, and, in point of fact, wringing every thing to his own profit. Moreover, by his command, a general survey was made throughout the hundreds of the leets and suits, of *hidages* and *fodercorn*, of hen-rents, and of other dues and rents and issues, which, for the greater part, were concealed by the farmers, and reduced it all into writing, so that within four years from the time of his election, there was not one who could defraud him of the rents of the abbey to the value of a single penny, whereas he himself had not received from his predecessors any writing touching the management of the abbey, save one small schedule, wherein was contained the names of the knights of St. Edmund and the names of the manors, and what farm-rent attached upon each farm. This book he called his kalendar, wherein also were entered the debts he had satisfied ; and this same book he almost daily perused, as if in the same he contemplated the reflection of his own prudence.

The first day that he held a chapter, he confirmed to us, under his new seal, sixty shillings from Southrey, which his predecessors had unjustly received from Edmund, surnamed the golden monk, for the liberty of holding the same vill to farm all the days of his life ; and he proposed, as a general rule, that from thenceforth, no one should pledge the ornaments of the church without the assent of the convent, as had been accustomed heretofore, nor that any charter should be sealed with the convent seal, unless in chapter in the presence of the convent ; and he appointed Hugh subsacrist, ordering that William the sacrist should not have any thing to do with the sacristy, either in the matter of receipt or disburse, unless by his consent. After this, but not on the same day, he transferred the former keepers of the offerings to other offices ; lastly, he deposed the same William, wherefore those who liked William said, " Behold the abbot ! lo, here is the wolf of whom it was dreamed ! see how he rages !" And some of them would have entered into a conspiracy against the abbot; which circumstance, when it was disclosed to the abbot, he not caring to be altogether silent, nor yet to disquiet the convent, entered the chapter house on the morrow, and pulling out a little bag full of cancelled deeds, the seals yet hanging thereto, to wit, partly the securities of his predecessor, partly of the prior, partly of the sacrist, partly of the chamberlain and other officials, whereof the total was three thousand and fifty-three pounds and one mark without alloy, besides the incalculable interest that had accrued thereupon, of all which he had made agreement within one year after his election, and within twelve years entirely discharged ; " Behold," he said, "the good management of William our sacrist ; look here, at the multitude of securities signed with his seal, whereby he hath pledged silken caps, dalmatics, censers of silver, and books ornamented with gold, without the knowledge of the convent, all which I have redeemed and have restored to you." He likewise added many other things, showing why he had deposed the said William ; howbeit he suppressed the real cause, not wishing to put him to open shame. And when he put Sampson the precentor in his place, a person approved by us, and as above all exception, all was quiet again. Furthermore, the abbot commanded that the houses of the sacristan in the cemetery should be entirely plucked up, as though they were not worthy to stand upon the earth, by reason of the frequent wine-bibbings, and certain other acts not to be named, he with grief and indignation had witnessed while he was subsacrist, and made it all level with the soil, so that, within a year, upon the spot where a noble dwelling had stood, we saw beans growing, and where casks of wine had lain, nettles to abound.

After the close of Easter, the abbot went over every one of his and our manors, as well as over those we had confirmed to the farmers in fee, acquiring from all of them aid and acknowledgment according to the law of the land ; thus every day he was increasing in secular knowledge, and was turning his attention to the learning and method of ordering out-door affairs. Now when he had come to Warkton, where he slept at night, there came to him a voice, saying, " Sampson, arise up quickly* ;" and, again, " Get up without delay ;" and, getting up astonished, he looked around him, and perceived a light in a necessary house, to wit, a candle, ready to fall down upon the straw, which Reiner the monk had incautiously left there ; when the abbot had put it out, going through the house, he perceived the door, which was the only entrance, so fastened that it could not be opened but by a key—likewise the windows fastened, so that if a fire had arisen, he, and all with him who slept upon that floor, had surely perished, for there was no place from whence they might get out or escape. At that time, wheresoever the abbot went, there came about him Jews as well as Christians, demanding debts, and worrying and importuning him, so that he could not sleep, and thereupon he became pale and thin, and was constantly repeating, " My heart will never rest until I know myself to be out of debt." The feast of St. Michael being come, he took all his manors into his own hand, with but small store of live or dead stock ; he freely forgave Walter of Hatfield nineteen pounds arrears,

* Acts xii. 7.

that he might absolutely take back four manors which Hugh the abbot had confirmed to him, to wit, Haregrave and Saxham and Chevington and Stapleford; Harlow, indeed, the abbot deferred to take to himself on the present occasion. Once on a time, as we passed over the forest in returning from London, I enquired in the hearing of my lord abbot, from an old woman passing by, whose was this wood, and of what town, and who was the lord, or who was the keeper? and she answered, that the wood belonged to the abbot of St. Edmund, of the town of Harlow, and that one Arnald was said to be the keeper; of whom, when I enquired further, how he conducted himself towards the men of the town, she answered, that he was a devil incarnate, an enemy of God, and a grinder of the faces of the poor hinds; but now, she added, he is afraid of the new abbot of St. Edmund, whom he believes to be prudent and vigilant, and therefore he treats the men gently. On hearing this, the abbot made merry, and deferred taking to the manor for a season.

Luckily at that time came the news of the death of the wife of Herlewin of Rungton, who had a charter to hold the same town for her life; and the abbot said, "Yesterday, I would have given sixty marks to have freed the manor from this incumbrance, but now God hath freed it." And as he was going thither without delay, that he might take that town into his own hand, and on the morrow was going to Tillener, a member of that manor, there came a certain knight offering thirty marks for the tenure of that carucate of land, with the appurtenances, by the old rent-service, to wit, four pounds, whereto the abbot could not agree; and he had therefrom in that year twenty-five pounds, and the second year twenty pounds. These and such like things induced him to hold every thing in his own keeping; as it is written elsewhere, "*Omnia Cæsar erat* *." In the first place, far from being inert, he commenced building barns and ox stalls, above all things solicitous to dress the land for tillage, and watchful in preserving the woods, in respect whereof, either in giving or diminishing, he professed himself very chary. There was but one manor, and that was Thorpe, which by his charter he confirmed to one of English birth, a villan, in whose honesty he the rather trusted, as he was a good husbandman, and could not speak French.

Seven months had scarcely elapsed since his election, and, behold! there were presented to him the letters of our lord the pope, appointing him a judge to determine causes, for the execution of which office he was incompetent and inexperienced, although he was thoroughly imbued with liberal learning and divine knowledge, in good sooth, a literate man, educated in schools and a governor of schools, in his own province known and approved of. Wherefore he invited two clerks, learned in the law, and associated them to himself, of whose advice he availed himself in ecclesiastical matters, employing himself upon the decrees and decretal epistles, when an opportunity offered; so that within a short time, as well by reference to books as by the handling of causes, he became reputed a discreet judge, proceeding in every suit according to form of law; wherefore a certain person said, "Cursed be the court of this abbot, where neither gold nor silver can help me to confound my adversary." In process of time, becoming somewhat practised in secular causes, and taught by an inborn common sense, he became of so subtle a wit, that all marvelled; indeed by Osbert Fitz Hervey, the undersheriff, it was said, "This abbot is a wrangler; if he goeth on as he hath begun, he will outwit us all, many as we be." Now the abbot becoming an expert man in causes of this description, was made a justice in eyre, wherein he preserved himself from error and corruption; but "*summa petit livor* *." When his men made their plaints to him in the court of St. Edmund, because he was unwilling to give hasty judgment, or to "believe every spirit †," but to proceed in due course of law, well knowing that the merits of causes are developed by the allegations of the parties, it was said of him, that he would not promote the office of judge to any complainant, unless by the intervention of money given or promised; and because his aspect was acute and penetrating, with a Cato-like countenance, rarely smiling, it was said that he inclined to severity rather than kindness; and in receiving amerciaments for any forfeiture, it was said that "Mercy rejoiceth against judgment ‡;" for as it seemed to many, when it became an affair of receiving money, he seldom remitted what by law he was entitled to take.

In like manner as he advanced in wisdom, so did he advance in thoughtful care, in respect of keeping and acquiring property, and in creditably regulating his expenses; but even here many backbiters took their ground, saying that he resorted to the sacristy at his own pleasure, sparing his own purse, letting his corn lie by for a dear season, and taking to his manors in other sort than his predecessors did, charging the cellarer with the entertainment of those guests he himself was bound to receive; so that by this craft it might be said, that the abbot was careful and well stocked at the end of the year, while, on the other hand, the convent and officials were to be accounted careless and improvident. In reply to these backbitings I used to observe, that if he took any thing from the sacrist, he turned it to the good account of the church, and this none of these slanderers could deny. And in good truth, greater and more increase was obtained by the offerings to the sacristy for the fifteen years after his election, than for forty years previous. To the other objections, that the abbot was fond of taking himself to his manors, I was wont to answer, and did excuse him, saying, "The reason is because the abbot is more in spirits and in good humour elsewhere than at home." And this was true enough, whether it were by reason of the frequency of suitors who came about him, or from the talebearers, wherefore it more frequently happened that by the appearance of severity in his face he lost much favor and grace in the eyes of his guests, notwithstanding they fared well in eating and drinking. I noticing this, taking an opportunity when I was with him in private, said, "There are two things in which I am much surprised at you;" and when he had inquired what these things might be, "One is that you encourage the doctrine of the school of Milun, which says, '*ex falso nihil sequi*,'

* Lucan, lib. iii. 108.

* Ovid. Remed. Am. 369. † 1 Epist. John iv. 1. ‡ Epist. James i. 13.

and other idle sayings." To which, when he had said his say, I added, "The other indeed is, that when you are at home, you do not exhibit the same gracious demeanour you do when elsewhere, nor do you mix in society with those brethren who have a strong regard for you, and have chosen you for their lord; but contrariwise, you seldom associate with them, nor do you, as they say, make yourself on sociable terms with them." Hearing this he changed countenance, and hanging down his head, said, "You are a simpleton, and speak foolishly; you ought to know what Solomon says, 'You have many sons, it is not fit you should smile on them*.'" I indeed held my peace from thenceforth, putting a bridle on my tongue. On another occasion I said, "My lord, I heard thee this night after matins wakeful and sighing heavily, contrary to thy usual wont;" who answered, "No wonder; thou art partaker of my good things, in meat and drink, in riding abroad, and such like; but you have little need to care concerning the conduct of the house and household of the saints, and arduous businesses of the pastoral cares which harass me, and make my spirit to groan and be heavy." Whereto I, lifting up my hands to heaven, made answer, "From such anxiety, almighty and most merciful Lord deliver me!" I have heard the abbot say, that if he could have been as he was before he became a monk, and could have had five or six marks of rent wherewith he could have been supported in the schools, he never would have been monk or abbot. On another occasion he said with an oath, that if he could have foreseen what and how great a charge it had been to govern the abbey, he would have been master of the almonry, and keeper of the books, rather than abbot and lord. And yet who will credit this? Scarcely myself; and not even myself, unless from being constantly with him by day and night for six years, I had had the opportunity of becoming fully conversant with the worthiness of his life and the rule of his wisdom.

He once related to me, that when he was a child of nine years old, he dreamed that he was standing before the gates of the cemetery of the church of St. Edmund, and that the devil, with outspread arms, would have seized him, had not St. Edmund, standing by, took him in his arms; whereupon he screamed whilst dreaming in his sleep, "St. Edmund, save me!" and thus calling upon him whose name he had never heard, he awoke. His mother was alarmed at such an outcry, but having heard the dream, took him to St. Edmund for the purpose of praying there; and when they had come to the gate of the cemetery he said, "See, mother, this is the place, this is the very same gate which I saw in my dream when the devil was about to seize me;" and he knew the place as well, to use his own expression, as if he had seen it before with his natural eyes. The abbot himself interpreted this dream thus: by the devil it was signified, that the pleasures of this mortal state were about to draw him away, had not St. Edmund thrown his arms about him when he made him a monk.

At a particular time, when he was informed that some of the convent grumbled at some act of his, he said to me then sitting by him, "Good God! there is need enough that I should remember that dream wherein it was dreamed of me, before I was made abbot, that I was to rage among them as a wolf. True it is that above all earthly things I dread lest the convent behave in such a way that I shall be compelled so to rage; but even so it is when they say, or do anything against my will, I bring to mind that dream of theirs, and although I do rage, 'tis in my own soul, groaning and gnashing my teeth in secret, doing violence to myself lest I should actually rage in word or deed with them, and

'Strangulat inclusus dolor, et cor æstuat intus*.'"

On a certain day he made an order in chapter, that every one who had a seal of his own should give it up; and so it was accordingly done, and there were found three and thirty seals. He himself explained the reason of this order, forbidding that any official should incur any debt above twenty shillings without the assent of the prior and convent, as had been wont heretofore. To the prior and to the sacrist, indeed, he returned their seals, but himself kept the rest. At another time he ordered to be delivered up to him all the keys of the chests, boxes, and hanapers, strictly enjoining that from thenceforth none presume to have a chest or anything locked up, unless by special licence, or otherwise possess anything beyond what the rule allowed. Notwithstanding this he generally gave licence to every one of us to have money to the amount of two shillings, if it should have been given to us in charity; so that it might be expended upon poor relations, or for purposes of piety. On another occasion the abbot said, that he was desirous of adhering to our ancient custom respecting the entertainment of guests; to wit, when the abbot is at home, he is to receive all guests of whatsoever condition they be, except religious, and priests of secular habit, and except their men, who on such pretence applied at the gate of the court-lodge; but if the abbot be not at home, then all guests of whatsoever condition are to be received by the cellarer up to thirteen horses. But if a layman or clerk should come with more than thirteen horses, they should be entertained by the servants of the abbot, either within the court lodge, or without, at the expense of the abbot. All religious men, even bishops if they be monks, are to be charged upon the cellary and at the expense of the convent, unless the abbot will do him special honour, and entertain him in his own hall at his own expense.

The abbot Sampson was of middle stature, nearly bald, having a face neither round nor yet long †, a prominent nose, thick lips, clear and very piercing eyes, ears of the nicest sense of hearing, lofty eyebrows, and often shaved; and he soon became hoarse from a short exposure to cold; on the day of his election he was forty and seven years old, and had been a monk seventeen years; having a few grey hairs in a reddish beard, with a few grey in a black head of hair, which somewhat curled; but within fourteen years after his election it all became as white as snow; a man remarkably temperate, never slothful, well able and willing to ride or walk till old age gained upon him and moderated such inclination; who on hearing the news of the cross being captive, and the loss of Jerusalem, A.D. 1187. 29 Sept.

* Ecclesiasticus vii. 24.

* Ovid. 5 Trist. El. i. v. 63. † That is, his face was oval.

Sampson an abstemious man. Dislikes flattery. His desire to keep his household, and his impartiality towards his old acquaintances and relations.

began to use under garments of horsehair and a horsehair shirt, and to abstain from flesh and flesh meats; nevertheless he desired that meats should be placed before him while at table, for the increase of the alms dish. Sweet milk, honey, and such like sweet things he ate with greater appetite than other food. He abhorred liars, drunkards, and talkative folks; for virtue ever is consistent with itself and rejects contraries. He also much condemned persons given to murmur at their meat or drink, and particularly monks who were dissatisfied therewith, himself adhering to the uniform course he had practised when a monk: he had likewise this virtue in himself, that he never changed the mess you set before him. Once when I, then a novice, happened to serve in the refectory, it came into my head to ascertain if this were true, and I thought I would place before him a mess which would have displeased any other but him, being served in a very black and broken dish. But when he had looked at it, he was as one that saw it not; some delay taking place, I felt sorry that I had so done, and so snatching away the dish I changed the mess and the dish for a better, and brought it him; but this substitution he took in ill part, and was angry with me for it. An eloquent man was he, both in French and Latin, but intent more on the substance and method of what was to be said than on the style of words. He could read English manuscript very critically, and was wont to preach to the people in English, as well as in the dialect of Norfolk, where he was born and bred; wherefore he caused a pulpit to be set up in the church for the ease of the hearers, and for the ornament of the church. The abbot also seemed to prefer an active life to one of contemplation, and rather commended good officials than good monks; and very seldom approved of any one on account of his literary acquirements, unless he also possessed sufficient knowledge of secular matters; and whenever he chanced to hear that any prelate had resigned his pastoral care and become an anchorite, he did not praise him for it. He never applauded men of too complying a disposition, saying, "He who endeavours to please all, ought to please none."

In the first year of his being abbot he appeared to hate all flatterers, and especially among the monks; but in process of time it seemed that he heard them more readily, and kept them in countenance. Wherefore it once happened, that a certain one, our brother, skilled in this art, had bent the knee before him, and under the pretence of giving advice, had poured the oil of flattery into his ears. I, standing apart, smiled; the brother having departed, I was called and asked why I had smiled; I answer, "The world is full of flatterers." And the abbot replies, "My son, it is long since I became acquainted with flatterers, and therefore I cannot but hear them. There are many things to be passed over and taken no notice of, if the peace of the convent is to be preserved. I will hear what they have to say, but they shall not deceive me if I can help it, as they did my predecessor, who trusted so unadvisedly to their counsel, that for a long time before his death he had nothing for himself or his household to eat, unless it were obtained on trust from creditors; nor was there any thing to be distributed among the poor on the day of his burial, unless it was the fifty shillings which were received from Richard the farmer of Palegrave, which very fifty shillings the same Richard, on another occasion, had to pay to the king's bailiffs, who demanded the entire farm-rent for the king's use." With this saying I was comforted. His study, indeed, was to have a well regulated house, and enough wherewith to keep his household, so managing that the usual allowance for a week, which his predecessor could not make last for five days, sufficed him for eight, or even nine days, if so be that he was at his manors without any extraordinary arrival of guests. Every week, indeed, did he audit the expences of the house, not by deputy, but in his own person, which thing his predecessor had never been wont to do. For the first seven years he had not but four courses in his house, afterwards only three, except presents and game from his parks, or fishes from his ponds. And if at any time he retained any one in his house at the request of any great man, or any particular friend, or messengers, or minstrels, or any person of that description, by taking the opportunity of going beyond sea, or travelling afar off, he prudently disencumbered himself of such hangers-on. But the monks with whom the abbot had been most intimate, and liked best before he became abbot, he seldom promoted to offices merely for old acquaintance sake, unless they were fit persons; wherefore certain of us who had been favourable to his election as abbot, said, that he cared less for those who had liked him before he became abbot than was proper, and particularly that those were most favoured by him who both openly and in secret scandalized him, nay, had even publicly called him, in the hearing of many, a passionate unsocial man, a proud fellow, and Norfolk barrator. But on the other hand, as after he had taken upon himself the abbacy he exhibited no indiscreet partiality for his old friends, so he refrained from showing any thing like hatred or dislike to many others; according to their deserts, returning frequently good for evil, and doing good to them that persecuted him. He had this way also, which I have never observed in any other man, to wit, that he affectionately regarded many to whom he seldom or never showed the appearance of strong regard; saying, according to the common proverb, "*ubi amor ibi oculus.*" And another thing I wondered at in him was, that he knowingly suffered loss in his temporal matters from his own servants, and confessed that he winked at them: but this I believe to have been the reason, that he might watch a convenient opportunity when the thing could be advisedly remedied, or that he might avoid a greater loss by taking no outward notice of it. He loved his relations indifferently, but not less tenderly than others, because he had or assumed not to have any relative within the third degree. But I have heard him state, that he had relations who were noble and gentle. whom he never would in anywise recognize as relations; for, as he said, they would be more a burden than an honour to him, if they should happen to find out their relationship; but he always acknowledged those as kinsmen who had treated him as such when he was a poor monk. Some of these relations (that is, those whom he found useful and suitable) he appointed to various offices in his own house, others he made keepers of the townships. But those whom he found unworthy, he

irrevocably dismissed from his presence. A certain man of low degree, who had managed his patrimony and had been most devotedly attached to him from his youth, he looked upon as his dearest kinsman, and gave to his son, who was a clerk, the first church that became vacant after he came to the charge of the abbey, and also advanced all the other sons of this man. He invited to him a certain chaplain who had maintained him in the schools of Paris by the sale of holy water, and bestowed upon him an ecclesiastical benefice sufficient for his maintenance by way of vicarage. He granted to a certain servant of his predecessor's food and clothing all the days of his life, he being the very man who put the fetters upon him at his lord's command when he was cast into prison. To the son of Elias, the butler of Hugh the abbot, when he came to do homage for his father's land, he said, in full court, "I have, for these seven years, deferred taking thy homage for the land which the abbot Hugh gave thy father, because that gift was to the damage of the manor of Elmeswell; but now I feel myself quite overcome when I call to mind what thy father did for me when I was in chains, for he sent to me a portion of the very wine whereof his lord had been drinking, and bade me be comforted in God." To Master Walter, the son of Master William de Dissy, suing at his grace for the vicarage of the church of Chevington, he replied, "Thy father was master of the schools, and at the time when I was a poor clerk, he granted me freely and in charity an entrance to his school, and the means of learning; now I, for the sake of God, do grant to thee what thou dost ask."

He addressed two knights of Risby, William and Norman, at the time when they were adjudged to be in his mercy, publicly in this wise, "When I was a cloister monk, sent to Durham upon business of our church, and from thence returning through Risby, being benighted, I sought a night's lodging from Lord Norman, who utterly forbade me; but going to the house of Lord William, and seeking shelter, I was hospitably entertained by him; Now, therefore, those twenty shillings, to wit, the mercy, I will without mercy exact from Norman; but contrariwise, to William I give thanks, and the amerciament that is due from him do with pleasure remit."

A certain young drab of a wench who hawked about the country, complained to the abbot that one of the sons of Richard the son of Drogo, had forced her, and she at length, by the suggestion of the abbot, for the sake of peace, took one mark in satisfaction. The abbot, indeed, took from the same Richard four marks for licence to agree; but all those four marks he ordered forthwith to be given to a certain chapman, upon the condition that he should take this poor woman to wife.

Before 1198. In the town of St. Edmund, the abbot purchased stone houses, and assigned them for the use of the schools, so that thereby the poor clerks should be for ever free from house rent, towards payment whereof all the scholars, whether able or unable, were compelled twice in the year to subscribe a penny or an halfpenny.

The recovery of the manor of Mildenhall for one thousand and one hundred marks of silver, and the putting forth the Jews from the town of St. Edmund, and the founding of the new hospital of Babbwell, are proofs of great virtue.

The lord abbot obtained from the king letters permitting that the Jews should be driven away from out the town of St. Edmund, he alleging that whatsoever is within the town of St. Edmund, or within the liberties thereof, of right belongeth to St. Edmund. Therefore the Jews ought to become the men of St. Edmund, otherwise they should be put forth from out the town. Licence was therefore given that he might put them forth, saving, nevertheless, that they had all their chattels and the value of their houses and lands. And when they were expelled, and with an armed force conducted to divers towns, the abbot gave order that all those who from thenceforth should harbour or entertain Jews in the town of St. Edmund, should be solemnly excommunicated in every church and at every altar. Howbeit, it was afterwards provided by the king's justices, to wit, that if the Jews should come to the great pleas of the abbot to demand their debts from their debtors, on such occasion they might for two days and two nights lodge within the town, and on the third day be permitted to depart without injury. A.D. 1190.

The abbot offered king Richard five hundred marks for the manor of Mildenhall, stating that the manor was worth sixty and ten pounds *by the year*, and for so much had been recorded in the great roll of Winchester *. And when he had partly conceived hopes of success in his application, the matter rested till the morrow. In the meanwhile there cometh a certain person to the king, telling him that this manor was well worth *yearly* a hundred pounds. On the morrow, therefore, when the abbot urged his suit, the king said, "It is no good, my lord abbot, your asking me; you shall either give a thousand marks, or you shall not have the manor." And whereas the Queen Eleanor, according to the law of the realm, ought to have one hundred marks where the king receives a thousand, she took of us the great gold cup as payment for the hundred marks, and gave us back the same cup for the soul of her lord, the King Henry, who it was that first gave the same cup to St. Edmund. A.D. 1189. Sept.

On another occasion, when the treasure of our church was carried to London for the redemption of King Richard, the same queen redeemed that cup for one hundred marks, and restored it to us, taking in return our charter from us as an evidence of our most solemn promise, that we never should again depart that cup from our church upon any occasion whatever. Now when so much money was paid, and that gotten together with great difficulty, the abbot held a chapter, and said he ought to have some portion of the great advantage derivable from so valuable a manor. And the convent answered, that it was just it should be so, and they would do exactly as the abbot required. And the abbot replied that he could well claim the half part as his own right, demonstrating, that he had paid towards this purchase more than four hundred marks, with much inconvenience to himself, but said that he would be content with a certain allotment of that manor called Ikelingham; which was most freely granted him by the convent. When the abbot heard this, A.D. 1193.

* Domesday Book.

he said, "And I do accept this part of the land to my own use, but not that I intend to keep the same in my own hand, or that I shall give it to my relations, but for the good of my soul and for all your souls in common, I give the same to the new hospital at Babbwell, for the relief of the poor, and the maintenance of hospitality." As he
A.D. 1198. said, so was it done, and afterwards confirmed by the king's charter. These and all other things worthy to be kept in remembrance, and recorded for ever, did the abbot Sampson. There was nothing more that he intended to do, unless he could in his own life-time dedicate our church; after the performance whereof, he asserted he was ready to die: for the solemnizing of this act he said he was ready to pay two thousand marks of silver, so that the king should be present, and the affair be completed with the reverence it demanded.

It was informed the abbot that the
A.D. 1183. church of Woolpit was vacant, Walter of Constance being chosen to the bishoprick of Lincoln. He presently convened the prior and great part of the convent, and taking up his story, thus began: "Ye well know what trouble I had in respect of the church of Woolpit; and in order that it should be obtained for your
A.D. 1159-1162. exclusive use, I journeyed to Rome at your instance, in the time of the schism between pope Alexander and Octavian; and I passed through Italy at the time when all clerks bearing letters of our lord the pope Alexander were taken, and some were incarcerated, and some were hanged, and some with nose and lips cut off, were sent back to the pope, to his shame and confusion. I, however, pretended to be a Scotchman; and putting on the garb of a Scotchman, and the appearance of a Scotchman, I often shook my staff in the manner they use that weapon they call a *gaveloc** at those who mocked me, uttering threatening language, after the manner of the Scotch. To those who met and questioned me as to who I was, I answered nothing, but, '*Ride ride Rome, turne Cantwereberi*†.' This did I to conceal myself and my errand, and that I should get to Rome safer under the guise of a Scotchman. Having obtained letters from the pope, even as I wished, on my return I passed by a certain castle, as I was taking my way from the city, and behold the officers thereof came about me, laying hold upon me, and saying, 'This vagabond who makes himself out to be a Scotchman, is either a spy, or bears letters from the false pope Alexander.' And while they examined my ragged clothes, and my leggings, and my breeches, and even the old shoes which I carried over my shoulders, after the fashion of the Scotch, I thrust my hand into the little wallet which I carried, wherein was contained the writing of our lord the pope, close by a little jug I had for drinking; and the Lord God and St. Edmund so permitting, I drew out that writing together with the jug, so that extending my arm aloft, I held the writ underneath the jug. They could see the jug plain enough, but they did not find the writ; and so I got clear out of their hands, in the name of the Lord. Whatever money I had about me they took away, therefore it behoved me to beg from door to door, being at no charge, until I arrived in England. But hearing that this church had been given to Geoffrey Ridell, my soul was heavy for that I had laboured in vain. Coming, therefore, home, I slunk under the shrine of St. Edmund, fearing lest the abbot should seize and imprison me, although I deserved no punishment; nor was there a monk who durst to speak to me, or a layman who durst bring me food, except by stealth. At last, upon consideration, the abbot sent me to Acre in exile, and there I stayed a long time. These and innumerable other things have I endured on account of this church of Woolpit; but blessed be God, who rules all for the best, behold! this very church, for which I have borne so many sufferings is given into my hand, and now I have the power of presenting the same to whomsoever I will, because it is vacant. And now I render to the convent, and to its exclusive use I assign, the ancient custom or pension of ten marks, which ye have lost for upwards of sixty years. I had much rather have given it to you entire, could I have done so; but I know that the bishop of Norwich might gainsay this; or even if he did grant it, he would by occasion thereof claim to himself such subjection and obedience from you which it is not advisable or expedient you should acknowledge. Therefore let us do that which by law we may do; and that is, to put a clerk in as vicar, who shall account to the bishop for the spiritualities, and to yourselves for ten marks. And I propose, if you all agree, that this vicarage be given to some kinsman of R. de Hengham, a monk, and one of your brethren, who was joined with me in that expedition to Rome, and was exposed to the same perils as myself, and in respect of the very same matter."

Having said these things, we all arose and gave thanks; and Hugh, a clerk, brother of the aforesaid Roger, was nominated to the aforesaid church, saving to us our pension of ten marks.

In that manor of the monks of Canter-
Circa, 1186. bury which is called Illeigh, and is within the hundred of the abbot, a case of manslaying occurred; but the men of the archbishop would not permit that those manslayers should stand their trial in the court of St. Edmund. Thereupon the abbot made his plaint to king Henry, stating that Baldwin the archbishop claimed in his own right the liberties of our church, merely by the obtaining a new charter, which the king had given to the church of Canterbury after the death of St. Thomas. The king hereupon made answer, that he never made any grant in derogation of the rights of our church, nor did he wish to take away from St. Edmund anything that had ever belonged to him. On this intelligence the abbot said to his most intimate advisers, "It stands much more to reason that the archbishop should have to complain of me, than I of the archbishop. I will put myself in seisin of this liberty, and afterwards shall defend myself thereupon by the help of St. Edmund, whose right these charters testify it to be." Therefore suddenly and at daybreak, by the assistance of Robert of Cokefield, there were de-

* That is, a javelin or pike. See Spelman (voce *Gaveloc*), who cites the Latin words of the original.—Ed.

† The meaning of these words seems to be, "I am riding to Rome, and then I return to Canterbury;" in other words, "I am a poor pilgrim, first going to Rome, and then to St. Thomas à Becket's shrine, so I can have nothing to do with either pope."—Ed.

spatched about fourscore men to the town of Illeigh, who beating up their quarters, took those three manslayers, and led them bound to St. Edmund, and cast them into the hold of the prison there. Now the archbishop complaining of this, Ranulf de Glanville the justiciar, commanded that those men be put by gage and pledges to stand their trial in that court wherein they ought to stand *trial;* and the abbot was summoned that he come before the king's court to answer touching the force and injury which was said to have been done to the archbishop. The abbot, thereupon, offered himself several times without any essoin. At length, upon Ash Wednesday, they stood before the king in the chapter house of Canterbury, and the charters of the king on one side and t' other were read in court. And our lord the king said: "These charters are of the same age, and emanate from the same king, Edward. I don't know what I can say, unless it be that these charters are repugnant*." To whom the abbot said, "Whatever observations may apply to the charters, we are seised, and hitherto have been; and of this I am willing to put myself upon the verdict of two counties, to wit, Norfolk and Suffolk, if they will do the like." But Baldwin the archbishop, having first conferred with his advisers, said that the men of Norfolk and Suffolk loved St. Edmund very much, and that great part of those counties were under the control of the abbot, and therefore he was unwilling to stand by their decision. The king at this waxed wroth, and in indignation got up, and while he was departing, said, "Whosoever is able to receive it, let him receive it†." And so the matter was put off *et adhuc sub judice lis est.* However, I observed that some of the men of the monks of Canterbury were wounded even to death, by the country folks of the town of Milding, which is situate in the hundred of St. Edmund; and because that they knew that the prosecutor ought to make suit to the jurisdiction wherein the culprit is, they chose to be silent and to put up with it, rather than make complaint thereupon to the abbot or his bailiff, because in no wise would they come into the court of St. Edmund to plead there.

A.D. 1187, 11 Feb.

After this the men of Illeigh set up a certain cucking-stool, whereat justice was to be done in respect of deceits in the measuring of bread or corn; whereof it was complained by the abbot to the lord bishop of Ely, then justiciar and chancellor. But he was any thing but desirous to hear the abbot, because it was said that he had a quick scent after the archbishoprick, which at that time was vacant. Some time afterwards, when he had come on a visitation, being entertained as legate, before he departed he made a speech at the shrine of the holy martyr; when the abbot, having seized the opportunity, said to all those that were present, "Lord bishop, the liberty which the monks of Canterbury claim for themselves is the right of St. Edmund, whose body is here present; and because you do not choose to render me assistance to protect the privileges of his church, I refer that plaint between him and you. He will from henceforth get justice done to himself." The chancellor deigned not to answer a single word; but within a year from that time was driven from England, and experienced divine vengeance.

A.D. 1191.

A.D. 1193, 29 Oct.

Now when the same chancellor on his return from Germany had arrived at Ipswich, and rested the night at Hitcham, news was brought that the chancellor wished to take St. Edmund in his way, and would hear mass with us on the morrow: therefore the abbot gave strict injunctions that the offices of the church should not be performed so long as the chancellor was present in the church; for he said he had heard at London that the bishop of London had pronounced the chancellor excommunicated, and that after he had departed from England he had been excommunicated by six bishops, and particularly for the violence he committed upon the archbishop of York at Dover. Therefore when the chancellor came to us on the morrow, he found no one, neither clerk nor monk, who would sing a mass. Of a surety, indeed, not only the priest standing at the first mass, at office of mass, but the other priests standing before the altars, ceased, resting with unmoved lips until a messenger came, saying that he had departed from the church. The chancellor, putting up with it all, did many injuries to the abbot, until at length, by the interference of friends, somehow or other all was settled by the kiss of peace.

A.D. 1191, Sept.

When king Henry had taken the cross, and had come within a month after to us, for the sake of paying his devotions, the abbot privily made for himself a crusader's habit of linen cloth, and holding in one hand a cross and a needle and thread, he requested licence from the king that he might take upon himself the cross; but this licence was denied him, upon the suggestion of John the bishop of Norwich, who said that it was highly inexpedient in respect of the county; nor indeed was it safe for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, that the bishop of Norwich and the abbot of St. Edmund should both be away at the same time.

A.D. 1188, 21 Jan.

When the news came to London of the capture of king Richard and his imprisonment in Germany, and the barons had met to take counsel thereupon, the abbot started up before them all, saying that he was quite ready to seek his lord the king, either by private means or in any other way, until he had discovered where he was, and had obtained certain intelligence of him; by reason whereof he obtained great approbation.

A.D. 1193.

When the chancellor, to wit, the bishop of Ely, filled the office of legate, and in that capacity was holding a council at London, and had proposed certain decrees against the black monks, taking notice of their wandering to St. Thomas and St. Edmund, for the purpose of pilgrimage, and inveighing against abbots, and restricting them in the number of their horses, the abbot Sampson replied, "We do not admit any

A.D. 1190.

* In the margin of the original is this note: "Because the charter that we have from St. Edward is more ancient than the charter which the monks of Canterbury possess. Because the charter they have does not give them a liberty, but only amongst their own men; and our charter speaks of the time of king Edward, and of the time of his mother, queen Emma, who had the eight hundreds and one half, together with Mildenhall, in dower, before the time of St. Edward."

† Matt. xix. 12.

decree against that rule of St. Benedict which allows to abbots the free and absolute government of their monks. I keep the barony of St. Edmund and his kingdom; nor are thirteen horses sufficient for me as they may be for some abbots, unless I have more for the enabling me to execute the king's justice."

A.D. 1193. Whilst there was war throughout England, king Richard being captive, the abbot with his whole convent solemnly excommunicated all movers of the war and disturbers of the public peace, not regarding the earl John, the king's brother, nor any other, so that he was styled the "magnanimous abbot." After doing which he went to the siege of Windsor, where he appeared in armour with other abbots of England, having his own standard, and retaining many knights at heavy charges, being more remarkable there for his counsel than for his piety. But we cloister folks thought this act rather perilous, fearing the consequence, lest some future abbot might be compelled to attend in person upon any warlike expedition. A truce being entered into at that time, he went into Germany, and there visited the king with many gifts.

A.D. 1194. After the return of king Richard to England, licence was granted for having tournaments; for which purpose many knights met between Thetford and St. Edmund, but the abbot forbade them; but they, in despite of the abbot, fulfilled their desire. On another occasion there came fourscore young men with their followers, sons of noblemen, to have their revenge at the aforesaid place; which being done, they returned into the town to put up there. The abbot hearing of this, ordered the gates to be locked, and all of them to be kept within. The next day was the vigil of Peter and Paul the apostles. Therefore, having passed their word and promising that they would not go forth, they all dined with the abbot on that day; but after dinner, the abbot retiring to his chamber, they all arose and began to carol and sing, sending into the town for wine, drinking and then screeching, depriving the abbot and convent of their sleep, and doing everything in scorn of the abbot; and spending the day, until the evening, in this manner; and refused to desist, even when the abbot commanded them. But when evening was come they broke open the gates of the town and went forth bodily. The abbot, indeed, solemnly excommunicated all of them, yet not without first consulting Hubert, at that time justiciar; and many of them came, promising amendment and seeking absolution.

A.D. 1182, 31 Mar. The abbot often sent his messengers to Rome, by no means empty. The first he sent, immediately after he was consecrated, obtained in general terms all the liberties and privileges which had been granted of yore by his predecessors, even in the time

A.D. 1187, 21 Jan. of the schism. Next he obtained, that as he stood first among the abbots of England, so he might be able to give episcopal benediction solemnly, wheresoever he might happen to be. Afterwards he obtained a general

A.D. 1188. exemption for himself and his successors, from all archbishops of Canterbury, which the abbot Hugh had only acquired for himself personally. These, together with new privileges included in these confirmations, the abbot Sampson caused to be carefully preserved for the greater liberty and security of our church. There once came a certain clerk to the abbot, bearing letters of request for receiving ecclesiastical rent. And the abbot, drawing forth from his desk seven apostolic writings, with the leaden seals hanging to them, thus made answer: "Look you here, see the apostolic writings, whereby divers popes require that certain benefices should be given to divers clerks. When I shall have quieted those who have come before you, I will give you your rent; for he who first cometh to the mill ought first to have his grist."

There was a general court summoned for the hundred of Risbridge, that there should be heard the plaint and trial of the earl of Clare, at Witham. He indeed, encompassed with many barons and knights, the Earl Alberic and many others attending upon him, stated, that his bailiffs had given him to understand, that they were accustomed to receive yearly for his use five shillings from the hundred and the bailiffs of the hundred, and now they were unjustly detained; and he alleged that his predecessors had been in seisin thereof at the conquest of England, as of the land of Alfric the son of Withgar, who had been heretofore lord of that hundred. But the abbot reflecting upon this, without stirring from his place, answered, "It is a strange thing this what you say, my lord earl; your case fails you; king Edward, *the Confessor*, gave, and by his charter confirmed, to St. Edmund this entire hundred; and of those five shillings there is no mention made therein. Now you must tell us for what service or for what reason you demand those five shillings." And the earl, after advising with his attendants, replied, that it was his office to carry the standard of St. Edmund in battle, and for that cause those five shillings were due to him. And the abbot answered, "Certainly, it seems a mean thing that such a man as the earl of Clare, should receive such a petty gift for such a service; to the abbot of St. Edmund, it is but a slight grievance to give the five shillings. The earl Roger Bigot holds himself in as seised, and asserts that he is seised of the office of bearing the standard of St. Edmund; indeed, he actually did bear it when the earl of Leicester was taken and A.D. 1173. the Flemings destroyed. Also Thomas of Mendham claims this as his right. When, therefore, you shall have proved against these your right, I will with great pleasure pay you the five shillings you now seek to recover of me." The earl upon this said that he would talk the matter over with the earl R., his kinsman; and so the matter was put off even to this day.

Robert of Cokefield being dead, there came to him Adam his son, and with A.D. 1191. him many of his relations, the earl R. Bigot, and many other great men, and made suit to the abbot for the tenements of the aforesaid Adam, and especially for the half hundred of Cosford, holden by the annual payment of one hundred shillings, just as if it had been his hereditary right; indeed they all seemed to say, that his father and his grandfather had held it for fourscore years past and longer too. When the abbot got an opportunity of speaking, putting his two fingers up to his two eyes, he said, "May I be deprived of these eyes on that day, nay, in that hour, wherein I grant

to any one the hundred to be holden in hereditary right, unless indeed the king, who is able to take away from me the abbey and my life with it, should do me violence." And explaining to them the reason of that saying, he averred, "If any one was to hold the hundred as an inheritance, and he should make forfeit to the king in any wise, so that he ought to lose his inheritance, forthwith will the sheriff of Suffolk and the king's bailiffs have seisin of the hundred, and exercise their own power within our liberties; and if they should have the ward of the hundred, the liberty of the eight hundreds and the half hundred will be endangered." And then addressing himself to Adam, he said, "If you who claim an inheritance in this hundred, should take to wife any free woman who should hold, let it be but one acre of land of the king in chief, the king, after your death will possess himself of all that your tenement, together with the wardship of your son, if he be under age; and thus the king's bailiffs may enter upon the hundred of St. Edmund, to the prejudice of the abbot. Besides all this, your father acknowledged to me that he claimed nothing by right of inheritance in the hundred; but because his service was satisfactory to me, I permitted him to hold it all the days of his life, according as he deserved of me." Upon the abbot saying thus much, money was offered; but he could not be persuaded by words or money. At last it was settled between them thus, Adam disclaimed that right which he had by word of mouth claimed to have in the hundred, and the abbot confirmed to him all other his lands; but touching our town of Cokefield, no mention was made of that, nor indeed is it believed that he had a charter thereof; Semere and Groton he was to hold for term of his life.

Herbert the dean erected a windmill upon Haberdon, whereof when the abbot had heard, his anger was so incensed, that he would scarcely eat, or utter a single word. On the morrow, after hearing of mass, he commanded the sacrist, that without delay he should send his carpenters thither and overturn it altogether, and carefully put by the wooden materials in safe keeping. The dean hearing this, came to him saying, that he might do this upon his own frank fee, and that the benefit of the wind ought not to be denied to any one; and he further said, that he only wanted to grind his own corn there, and no one's else, lest it should be imagined that he did this to the damage of the neighbouring mills. And the abbot, his anger not yet appeased, answered, "I give thee as many thanks as if thou hadst cut off both my feet; by God's face I will not eat bread until that building be plucked up. Thou art an old man, and thou shouldest have known that it is not lawful even for the king or his justiciar to alter or appoint a single thing within the liberties, without the allowance of the abbot and convent; and why hast thou presumed to do such a thing? Nor is this without prejudice to my other mills, as you assert, because the burgesses will run to you and grind their corn at their pleasure, nor can I by law turn them away, because they are freemen. Nor would I endure that the mill of our cellarer, lately set up, should stand, but that it was erected before I was abbot. Be off," he said, "be off; before that thou hast come to thy house, thou shalt hear what has befallen thy mill." But the dean, being afraid of the abbot, by the counsel of his son, Master Stephen, forestalling the servants of the sacrist, without delay caused to be dug up that very mill which had been erected by his own servants; so that when the servants of the sacrist came thither, they found nothing to be pulled down.

The abbot was sued in respect of the advowson of certain churches, and gained the suit. Certain others he also retained, although his right thereto was challenged, viz, the church of Westley, of Meringthorp, of Brettenham, of Wenling, of Pakeham, of Nowton, of Bradfield in Norfolk, the moiety of the church of Boxford, the church of Scaldwell, and the church of Endgate. All these, although the right was challenged by others, he retained, and he restored to his own right of patronage three shares of the church of Diccleburgh, and brought back the tenements belonging to those shares to the frank fee of the church, saving the service which was due therefrom to the manor of Titshall. But the church of Boxford being void, when an inquest was summoned thereupon, there came five knights tempting the abbot, and enquiring what it was they ought to swear. But the abbot would neither give nor promise them anything, but said, "When the oath shall be administered, declare the right according to your consciences." They, indeed, being discontented, departed, and by their inquest took away from him the advowson of that church, to wit, the last presentation; which nevertheless he ultimately recovered after many charges, and for a fine of ten marks. A.D. 1194. et post. A.D. 1188.

The abbot also retained the church of Honington, which had not become vacant, but the right was challenged in the time of Durand of Hostesley, although he produced as evidence of his right, the charter of William Bishop of Norwich, wherein it was specified that Robert de Valoines, his father-in-law, had given that church to Ærnald Lovell.

The moiety of the church of Hopeton being void, a controversy arose thereupon between the abbot and Robert of Ulm; and a day of hearing being appointed at Hopton, after much altercation, the abbot being guided by I know not what sudden impulse, said to the aforesaid Robert, "Do you but swear that this is your right, and I will allow that it is so." And since that knight refused to swear, it was by the consent of each party, referred to the oath of sixteen lawful men of the hundred, who swore that this belonged to the abbot as his right. Gilbert, the son of Ralf, and Robert of Cokefield, lords of that fee, were there present and consenting thereto. On that occasion also, Master Jordan de Ros, who had the charter of the abbot Hugh, as well as the charter of the aforesaid Robert, stepping forth, in order that each of them should in every possible manner prove his right to the church, held out that he was imparsonee (i. e. in possession of the benefice), and said that the clerk last deceased had been his vicar, rendering him a yearly payment for that moiety, and in proof thereof he produced the charter of Walchelin the archdeacon. The abbot, indeed, confounded and angry with him, never received him in a friendly manner, until the said Jordan, in a chapter of the monks at Thetford, at the abbot's A.D. 1191.

instance, resigned into the hands of the archbishop there present that very moiety, without any reservation or expectation of afterwards recovering the same, before a great multitude of clerks. Which being done, the abbot said, "My lord bishop, I am engaged by promise to bestow the rent upon some one your clerk; and I now give this moiety of this church to whomsoever of your clerks you will." Then the bishop requested, that in a friendly manner it should be given to the same Master Jordan; and so upon the presentation of the abbot, Jordan got it back again. Afterwards a controversy arose between the abbot and the same Jordan, touching the land of Herard in Harlow, whether it were the frank fee of the church or not. And when there was summoned an inquest of twelve knights to make inquest in the king's court, the inquest was taken in the court of the abbot at Harlow, by the licence of Ranulf de Glanville, and the recognitors (i. e. the jury) swore, that they never knew that land at any time to have been separated from the church, but nevertheless that land owed such service to the abbot as the land of Eustace, and certain other lands of laymen in the same town were subject to. At length it was agreed between them thus: Master Jordan in full court acknowledged that land to be lay fee, and that he claimed nothing therein, unless by the abbot's grace; and that he should hold that land all the days of his life, rendering therefore yearly to the abbot twelve pence for all services.

Now, according to the custom of the English, most persons gave many presents to the abbot, as being their lord, upon the day of the Circumcision of our Lord, I, Jocelin, thought to myself, what can I give. And I began to reduce into writing all those churches which are in the gift of the abbot, as well of our manors as of his, and the reasonable values of the same, upon the same principle that they could be fairly set to farm, at a time when corn is at its ordinary standard price. And therefore, upon the commencement of a new year, I gave to the abbot that schedule, as a gift to him, which he received very graciously. "I, indeed, because I then was pleasing in his sight *," thought in my heart, that I should hint to him that some one church should be given to the convent, and assigned for the purposes of hospitality, just as he had wished when he was a poor cloister monk, and being the same thing he himself had, before his election, suggested the brothers should swear, that upon whomsoever the lot should fall, that man should do it †. But while I cogitated upon these things, it occurred to my remembrance, that some one previously had said the very same thing, and that I had heard the abbot reply, that as he could not dismember the barony, so he ought not, in like manner, to diminish its privilege and dignity, as the abbot Hugh, and others, his predecessors, had done in giving away churches, which after all scarcely brought any gain or profit to the convent: and on considering this I held my peace. The writing I have alluded to was the following:

"These are the churches of the manors, and socages of the abbot. The church of Melford is worth forty pounds; Chevington, ten marks; Saxham, twelve marks; Hargrave, five marks; Brettenham, five marks; Boxford, one hundred shillings; Great Farnham, one hundred shillings; Stowe, one hundred shillings; Honington, five marks; Helmeswell, three marks; Cotton, twelve marks; Boxford, five marks; Palegrave, ten marks; Great Horningesherth, five marks; Cunegestun, four marks; Harlow, nineteen marks; Stapleford, three marks; Titshall, one hundred shillings; Wirlingword cum Bedingfield, twenty marks; Soham, six marks; the moiety of the church of Wortham, one hundred shillings; Rungton, twenty marks; Thorp, six marks; Woolpit, over and above the pension, one hundred shillings; Ressebroc, five marks; the moiety of the church of Hopton, sixty shillings; Richinghall, six marks; three parts of the church of Diccleburgh, each part being worth thirty shillings and upwards; the moiety of the church of Gislingham, four marks; Ichelingham, six marks; concerning the church of Mildenhall, which is worth forty marks, and of the moiety of the church of Wederden, what shall I say? Weneling, one hundred shillings; the church of Lin, ten marks; the church of Scadewell, five marks; from Woketon,——

"These are the churches of the manors belonging to the convent: Mildenhall, Berton, and Horningesherth, twenty five marks, besides the pension; Bradfield, five marks; Pakeham, thirty marks; Southrey, one hundred shillings; Riseby, twenty marks; Newton, four marks; Wepsted, fourteen marks; Fornham St. Genevieve, fifteen marks; Herningeswell, nine marks; Fornham St. Martin, three marks; Ingham, ten marks; Laeford, one hundred shillings; Alveden, ten marks; Cokefield, twenty marks; Semer, twelve marks; Groton, five marks; the moiety of the church of Frisingfield, fourteen marks; Beccles, twenty marks; Broc, fifteen marks; Hildercle, ten marks; Worketon, ten marks; Scadewell, five marks; Westley, five marks; the church in Norwich, two marks, over and above the appointed and annual payment of herrings; and two churches in Colchester, three marks, over and above the pension of four shillings; Chelesworth, one hundred shillings; Cheringethorp, four marks; the moiety of the church of Bradfield in Norfolk, three marks; staffacres and fouracres, and the third part of the tithes of the lordships of Wrabenesse, six marks."

The two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk were put in mercy of the king by the justices in eyre for some default, and fifty marks were put upon Norfolk, and thirty upon Suffolk. And when a certain portion of that common amerciament was assessed upon the lands of St. Edmund, and was sharply demanded, the abbot, without loss of time, went to our lord the king, and we found him at Clarendon; and having exhibited A.D. 1187. to him the charter of king Edward, which discharges all the lands of St. Edmund from all gelds and scots, the king commanded by his writ, that six knights of the county of Norfolk and six of Suffolk should be summoned to recognize before the barons of the exchequer, whether the lordships of St. Edmund ought to be quit from common amerciament; but to save trouble and expense, only six knights were chosen, and therefore, because they had lands in either county, to wit, Hubert of Briseword, W. Fitz Hervey, and William of Francheville, and three others, who

* Deut. xii. 25.

§ Ante p. 6, col. 1.

went to London along with us, and on the behalf of the two counties recognized (i. e. gave their verdict) in favour of the liberty of our church. And thereupon the Justices then sitting inrolled that their verdict.

The abbot Sampson entered into a
A.D. 1196. contest with his knights (i. e. those who held of him by knight's service), himself against all, and all of them against him; for he had stated to them that they ought to perform the service of fifty individual knights in escuages, and in aids, and in the like, because, as they themselves said, they held so many knight's fees, and the point in dispute was, whether ten of those fifty knights were to be without performing service, or by what reason, or by whose authority, they withheld the service of those ten knights. But they all answered with one voice, that such had ever been the custom, that is to say, that ten of them should assist the other forty, and that they could not thereupon —nor ought they thereupon—to answer, nor yet to implead. Now when they were summoned in the king's court to answer hereupon, some intentionally essoined themselves (i. e. excused themselves from appearing), others appeared subtilly, saying, that they ought not to answer without their companions who were joined with them in the same plaint. On another occasion, those presented themselves who had first absented themselves, saying in like manner, that they ought not to answer without their fellows who were joined with them in the same plaint. And when they several times thus mocked the abbot, and had involved him in great and grievous expenses, the abbot complained of this to Hubert, the then justiciar, who replied in open court, that each knight ought to plead singly, and in respect of his own tenure. And the abbot publicly stated, that he was knowing enough and able enough to prove the rights of the church against all and every one of them; then the earl, Roger Bigot, first of all freely confessed that, in law, he owed to his superior lord the abbot his service of three entire knight's fees, in reliefs as well as in escuages and aids; but, so far as concerned his performing castle-guard at the castle of Norwich, he said nothing.

Then next came two of these knights, then three, afterwards, nearly all of them, and, by the earl's example, acknowledged the same service: and, because such acknowledgment thereupon made in the court of St. Edmund was not sufficient in law, the abbot took all of them to London at his own charges, with the wives and women, who were inherited of the lands so held, that they should make the acknowledgment in the king's court, and they all took separate chirographs of the concord thus made. Alberic de Vere and William of Hastings and two others were in the king's service beyond sea when this was done, and therefore the plaint concerning them was stayed. Alberic de Vere was the last who held out against the abbot; but as it was, the abbot seized and sold his cattle, wherefore it behoved him to come into court, and answer as did his fellows; but taking advice upon it, he at length acknowledged to the abbot and St. Edmund their right. The knights therefore being all defeated, from this victory a great profit could have accrued to the abbot unless he had been inclined to spare some of them; for so often as twenty shillings were charged upon a shield *, there remained twelve pounds to the abbot, and if more or less were assessed, more or less would remain over as a surplus to him according to the strict apportionment. Also the abbot was wont, and so were his predecessors, at the end of every twenty weeks to give seven shillings for the guard of the castle of Norwich out of his own purse, for default of three knights, whose fees Roger Bigot holds of St. Edmund, and each of the knights of four constabularies used to give twenty-eight pence when they entered to perform their guards, and one penny to the marshal who collected those pence; and therefore they were accustomed to give twenty-eight pence and no more, because ten knights of the fifth constabulary ought to assist the other forty, so that when they ought to give three shillings entire, they only gave twenty-nine pence, and he whose duty it was to enter to perform his guard service at the end of four months, entered at the end of the twenty weeks. But at the present time all the knights give the full three shillings, and there remains to the abbot the surplusage which accrues beyond twenty-nine pence, from whence he can reimburse himself of the aforesaid seven shillings. Behold it appears what influence the threats of the abbot obtained, which he made the first day, when he took the homage of his knights, as is aforesaid, when all the knights promised him twenty shillings, and immediately revoked what they had said, refusing to give him more than forty pounds in one sum, alleging, that ten knights ought to assist the other forty in aids and castle-guards, and all such like services.

Now there is certain land in Titshall of the abbot's fee, which used to pay to the watchmen of the castle of Norwich *waite-fee*, that is, twenty shillings per annum, to wit, five shillings at the commencement of each quarter of the year; this is an ancient customary payment, which the abbot would well wish to do away with if he could, but considering how unable he is so to do, he holds his peace and puts up with it.

Concerning Henry of Essex.

For the purpose of diffusing the knowledge of the blessed king and martyr, we have annexed this, we hope not unconnectedly, to the foregoing; not that I who am so insignificant a person, and of scarcely any account, should set it forth with an historical title, but insomuch as the lord Jocelin our almoner, a man of exalted piety, powerful in speech and in act, did so begin it at the request and desire of his superior, I may look upon it as my own work, because, according to the precept of Seneca, whatever has been well said by another, I may without presumption ascribe to myself.

When the abbot came to Reading, and we with him, we were suitably entertained by the monks of that place, among whom we met Henry of Essex, a professed monk, who, having obtained an opportunity of speaking with the abbot, related to him and ourselves as we all sat together, how he was vanquished in camp fight †, and how and for what reason St. Edmund had confounded him in the very hour of battle. I therefore reduced his

* Figuratively for a knight's fee; being the tenure as well as the extent of land, in respect whereof scutage was granted to the king.

† Trial by battle.

The story of Henry of Essex, and the infliction that befel him for defrauding St. Edmund of his right. — Sampson overreaches the Bishop of Ely in his request for timber.

tale into writing by the command of the lord abbot, and wrote it in these words.

As it is impossible for us to shun evil unless it be apparent, we have thought it worthy to commit to historical record the acts and excesses of Henry of Essex, more as a warning than for imitation: examples indeed teach us, that God's chastisement is useful and beneficial. The aforesaid Henry, therefore, while in prosperity was in high esteem amongst the great men of the realm, a man of great account, of noble birth, conspicuous by deeds of arms, the king's standard bearer, and feared by all on account of his power. His fellow provincials endowed the church of St. Edmund the king and martyr with possessions and rents, but he not only shut his eyes to this fact, but also by force and by injuries, and of his own wrongful disposition, withheld an annual rent of five shillings, and converted it to his own use; nay, indeed, in process of time, when a cause touching the rape of a certain damsel was prosecuted in the court of St. Edmund, the said Henry came thither, protesting and alleging that the same plaint by law ought to be decided in his court by reason of the niefty of the same damsel, who was born within his lordship of Lailand*; by reason of which pretext he presumed to harass the court of St. Edmund with journeys and innumerable expences for a long space of time. In the meantime, in these and such like acts, prosperity smiling upon his desires imperceptibly brought down upon him the cause of perpetual sorrow, and under the appearance of a joyful commencement of life, contrived for him a joyless termination; for she is wont to smile that she may afterwards rage, to flatter that she may deceive, to elevate that she may depress. Now there rose up against him Robert de Montfort, his cousin, by no means unequal to him in birth or power, impeaching and accusing him before the princes of the land of treason against the king. Verily he asserted, that he in the war
A.D. 1157. with the Welsh, in the difficult pass of Coleshill, had traitorously thrown down the standard of our lord the king, and had with a loud voice proclaimed his death, and so turned to flight those who were hastening to his assistance. In point of fact, the aforesaid Henry of Essex did believe that the famous King Henry the second, being intercepted by the stratagems of the Welsh, had been killed; which in good sooth would have been the case, if Roger, Earl of Clare, spotless by birth, and more spotless by deeds of valour, with his Clare men, had not come up in good time and displayed the standard of our lord the king, to the cheering up and heartening of the whole army. Henry, indeed, strenuously opposing the aforesaid Robert in the assembly, and absolutely denying the accusation, after a short lapse of time it came to camp-fight. And they met for the pur-
A D. 1163. pose of fighting with each other in a certain island hard by the abbey; and there also came thither a multitude of folks to see what issue the matter would take. Now it came to pass, while Robert de Montfort thundered upon him manfully with hard and frequent strokes, and a bold onset had promised the fruit of victory, Henry, his strength gradually failing him, glanced round on all sides, and lo! on the border of the earth and water* he saw the glorious king and martyr, Edmund, armed, and as if hovering in the air, looking towards him with a severe countenance, nodding his head with threats of anger and indignation; he also saw with him another knight, Gilbert de Cereville, not only in appearance inferior, but less in stature from the shoulders, direct his eyes to him as if angry and wrathful. This man, by the command of the same Henry, being afflicted with chains and torments, closed his last day in prison at the instance and on the accusation of Henry's wife; who, turning her own wickedness upon an innocent person, stated that she could not endure the solicitations of Gilbert to unlawful love. Therefore, Henry seeing these apparitions, becomes anxious and fear stricken, and remembers the proverb, that old crime brings late shame. And becoming wholly desperate, and changing reason into violence, he assumed the part of one who attacked, not one who was on the defensive; who while he struck fiercely, was more fiercely struck; and while he manfully fought, was more manfully attacked in his turn. In short he fell vanquished. And as he was believed to be dead, upon the petition of the great men of England, his kinsmen, it was allowed that the monks of the same place should give his body the rites of sepulture. Nevertheless he afterwards was brought to life, and now with recovered health, he has wiped out the blot upon his previous life under the Regular Habit, and endeavouring to cleanse the long week of his dissolute life by at least one purifying sabbath, has cultivated the studies of the virtues, so that he may bring forth the fruit of eternal felicity.

Geoffrey Ridell, Bishop of Ely, sought from the abbot some timber for the purpose of constructing certain great buildings at Glemesford; which request the abbot granted, but with a bad grace, not daring to offend him. Now the abbot making some stay at Melford, there came a certain clerk of the bishop, asking, on behalf of his lord, that the promised timber might be taken at Ælmeswell; and he made a mistake in pronouncing the word, saying Ælmeswell when he should have said Ælmessethe*, which is the name of a certain wood at Melford. And the abbot was astonished at the request, for such timbers were not to be found at Ælmeswell. Whereof, when Richard the forester of the same town had heard, he privately informed the abbot that the bishop had the previous week sent his carpenters in a surreptitious manner into the wood of Ælmessethe, and had chosen the best timber trees in the whole wood, and had placed his marks thereon. On hearing this, the abbot directly discovered that the messenger of the bishop had made an error in his request, and answered, that he would willingly do as the bishop pleased. On the morrow, upon the departure of the messenger, immediately after he had heard mass, the abbot went into the before-named wood with his carpenters, and caused to be marked with his mark not only all the oaks previously marked, but more than a hundred others, for the use of St. Edmund, and for the roof of the great tower, commanding that they should be felled as quickly as possible. But when the bishop, by the answer of his messenger, understood that the aforesaid timber was to be taken at

* That is, because the girl was his *nief*, or bondwoman, the daughter of one of his villans.

* The rim of the horizon. † Elmset.

Ælmes*well*, he sent back the same messenger (on whom he dealt many hard words) to the abbot, in order that he might correct the word in which he had blundered, by saying Ælmes*sethe*, not Ælmeswell; but before he had come to the abbot, all the timbers which the bishop had desired were felled, and the abbot's carpenters had marked them. Wherefore all the bishop could do was, to take other timber, and at some other place if he would. As for myself, when I witnessed this affair, I laughed, and said in my heart, "Thus art is deceived by art *."

On the death of the abbot Hugh, the A.D. 1182. wardens of the abbey desired to depose the bailiffs of the town of St. Edmund and to appoint new bailiffs of their own authority, saying that this appertained to the king, in whose hand the abbey then was; but we complaining thereof, sent our messengers to Lord Ranulf de Glanville, then justiciar; who answered, that he well knew that forty pounds ought to be paid from the town to our sacrist, namely, for the lights of the church; and he said that the abbot Hugh, of his own will, and in his privy chamber, without the consent of the convent, had granted the bailiwick as often as he chose, and upon whom he chose, saving the forty pounds payable to the altar. And therefore it was not to be wondered at if the king's bailiffs required this same thing on the king's behalf; and speaking in bitter language, he called all our monks fools, for having permitted our abbot to do such things, not considering that the chief religion of monks is to hold their peace, and pass over the excesses of their prelates; nor yet considering that they are called barrators if they, whether it be right or wrong, contravene their superiors in any thing; and further, that when they are deemed guilty of lese-majesty, they are condemned to prison and to exile. Wherefore it seemed to myself and others the better counsel, that we should rather be confessors than die as martyrs. On the return of our messenger home, and on his relating what he had seen and heard, we, as being unwilling and under compulsion, as it were, resolved, so far as we were able, that the old bailiffs of the town should be deposed, as well with the common consent of the convent, as by the keepers of the abbey, Sampson the subsacrist being very reluctant to join in this proposition. However, when Sampson was made abbot, he, calling to remembrance the wrong done to the abbey, on the morrow of Easter after his election, caused to be assembled in our chapter-house the knights, and clerks, and the majority of the burgesses, and then in the presence of them all, said that the town belonged to the convent and to the altar, namely, to find tapers for the church; and that he was desirous of renewing the ancient custom, so that in the presence of the convent, and with the consent of all, some measure should be taken concerning the bailiwick of the town, and of such like matters which appertained to the convent. And at that time were nominated two burgesses, Godfrey and Nicholas, to be bailiffs; and a discussion taking place from whose hand they should receive the horn, which is called *mot-horn*, *i. e. moot-horn*, at last they took it from the hands of the prior, who, next to the abbot, is head over the affairs of the convent.

Now these two bailiffs kept their bailiwick in peace many years, until they were said to be remiss in keeping the king's justice *; but on the abbot's suggestion that greater indemnity should be given to the convent upon this point, on their being removed, Hugh the sacrist took the town into his own keeping, appointing new ministers, who were to answer to him concerning the bailiwick; but in process of time, I know not how, new bailiffs were subsequently appointed, and that elsewhere than in chapter, and without the concurrence of the church; wherefore a like or perhaps greater peril is to be apprehended after the decease of the abbot Sampson than even was after the death of the abbot Hugh. However, a certain one of our brethren, fully relying upon the regard and friendship of the abbot, upon a fit opportunity, and with propriety and decency, talked over the matter with the abbot, asserting that dissatisfaction was expressed in the convent. But the abbot upon hearing this was silent for a long time, as if he was somewhat disconcerted; at length he is reported to have said, "Am not I, even I, the abbot? Doth it not belong to me alone to make order concerning the affairs of the church committed to my care, subject to this only, that I should act with wisdom and according to God's holy will? If there should be a default in the administration of the king's justice in this town, I shall be challenged for it, I shall be summoned, upon myself alone will rest the burden of the journey, and the expenses, and the defence of the town and its appurtenances; I alone shall be deemed the unwise person, not the prior, not the sacrist, nor yet the convent, but myself, who am and ought to be their head. Through my means and by my line of conduct, with God's assistance, will the town be securely preserved to the best of my ability, and safe also will be those the forty pounds payable annually to the altar. Let the brethren grumble, let them slander me, let them say amongst themselves what they will, I am still their father and their abbot; so long as I live 'I will not give my glory to another †.'" This being said, that monk departed, who reported these answers to us. I for my part marvelled at such sayings, and argued with myself upon a conflict of emotions. At length I was compelled to doubt as to the propriety of what the rule of law saith and teacheth, that all things should be under the governance of the abbot.

The merchants of London claimed to be quit of toll at the fair of St. Edmund; nevertheless many paid it, unwillingly indeed, and under compulsion; wherefore a great tumult and commotion was made among the citizens of London in their hustings. However, they came in a body and informed the abbot Sampson, that they were entitled to be quit of toll throughout all England, by authority of the charter which they had from king Henry the Second. Whereto the abbot answered, that were it necessary, he was well able to vouch the king to warranty, that he had never granted them any charter to the prejudice of our church, nor to the prejudice of the liberties of St. Edmund, to whom St. Edward had granted and confirmed *toll* and

* Sic ars deluditur arte.

* Peace. † Is. xlii. 8; xlviii. 11.

The Londoners do not frequent the fair, and contest the abbot's right to take passage toll from them.—The convent desire that the burgage rent of the town should be raised; Sampson, however, confirms their liberties on payment of a fine.

theam and all regalities before the conquest of England; and that king Henry had done no more than give to the Londoners an exemption from toll throughout his own lordships, and in places where he was able to grant it; but so far as concerned the town of St. Edmund, he was not able so to do, for it was not his to dispose of." The Londoners hearing this, ordered by common council, that no one of them should go to the fair of St. Edmund; and for two years they kept away, whereby our fair sustained great loss, and the offering of the sacrist was very much diminished indeed. At last, upon the mediation of the bishop of London and many others, it was settled between us and them, that they should come to the fair, and that some of them should pay toll, but that it should be forthwith returned to them, that by such a colourable act the privilege on both sides should be preserved. But in process of time, when the abbot had made agreement with his knights, and as it were slept in tranquillity, behold again "the Philistines be upon thee, Sampson *!" Lo! the Londoners, with one voice, were threatening that they would lay level with the earth the stone houses which the abbot had built that very year, or that they would take distress by a hundredfold from the men of St. Edmund, unless the abbot forthwith redressed the wrong done them by the bailiffs of the town of St. Edmund, who had taken fifteen pence from the carts of the citizens of London, who in their way from Yarmouth, laden with herrings, had made passage through our demesnes. Furthermore, the citizens of London said that they were quit of toll in every market, and on every occasion, and in every place throughout all England, from the time when Rome was first founded, and that London was founded at the very same time. Also, that they ought to have such an exemption throughout all England, as well by reason of its being a privileged city, which was of old time the metropolis and head of the kingdom, as well by reason of its antiquity. But the abbot sought reasonable imparlances thereupon, until the return of our lord the king of England, that he might consult with him upon this; and having taken advice of the lawyers, he replevied to the claimants those fifteen pence, without prejudice to the question of each party's right.

In the tenth year of the abbacy of
A.D. 1192. the abbot Sampson, by the common counsel of our chapter, we complained to the abbot in his own hall, stating that the rents and issues of all the good towns and boroughs of England were increasing and augmenting, to the profit of the possessors, and the well-thriving of their lords, all except this our town, which had long yielded forty pounds, and had never gone beyond that sum; and that the burgesses of the town were the cause of this thing, for they held so large and so many standings in the market-place, of shops and sheds and stallages, without the assent of the convent, indeed from the sole gift of the bailiffs of the town, who after all were but yearly renters and, as it were, ministers of the sacrist, and were removable at his good pleasure. Now the burgesses being summoned made answer, that they were in the assise of the king (*i. e.* under the jurisdiction of the king's courts), nor would they make answer in derogation of the immunity of the town and their charters, in respect of the tenements which they and their fathers had holden well and in time of peace * for one year and a day without claim; and they also said, the old custom had been this, that the bailiffs should, without the interference of the convent, dispose of the places of the shops and sheds in the market-place, in consideration of a certain rent payable yearly to the bailiwick. But we gainsaying this, were desirous that the abbot should disseise them of such tenements whereof they had no warranty. Now the abbot coming to our council, as if he were one of us, said to us in private, that he was willing enough to do us right, according to the best of his ability, but that he, nevertheless, was bound to proceed in due course of law, nor could he, without the judgment of a court, disseise his free men of their lands or rents, which they had holden for many years, were it justly or unjustly; which thing, if he should do, he said, he should fall into the king's mercy by the assise of the realm. Therefore the burgesses, taking counsel together, offered to the convent a rent of one hundred shillings, for the sake of peace; and that they should hold their tenements as they had been wont to do. But we, on the other hand, were by no means willing to grant this, rather desiring to put that plaint in respite, hoping perhaps, in the time of another abbot, to recover all, or change the place of the fair; and so the affair was deferred for many years. Now when the abbot had returned from Germany, the burgesses offered him sixty marks, and sued for his confirmation of the liberties of the town, under the same form of words as Anselm, and Ording, and Hugh had confirmed to them; all which the abbot graciously accorded. And notwithstanding our murmuring and grumbling, a charter was accordingly made to them in the terms of his promise; but because it would have been a shame and confusion to him if he had not been able to fulfil his promise, we were not willing to contradict him, or provoke him to anger. The burgesses, indeed, from the period when they had the charter of abbot Sampson and the convent, became more confident that they, at least in the time of abbot Sampson, would not lose their tenements or their franchises; so that never afterwards, as they did before, were they willing to pay or offer the before-named rent of one hundred shillings. At length, however, the abbot calling his attention to this matter, discoursed with the burgesses hereupon, saying, that unless they made their peace with the convent, he should forbid their erecting their booths at the fair of St. Edmund. They, on the other hand, answered, that they were willing to give every year a silken hood, or some other ornament, to the value of one hundred shillings, as they had before promised to do; but nevertheless, upon this condition, that they were to be for ever quit of the tithes of their profits *, which the sacrist sharply demanded of them. The abbot and the sacrist both refused this, and therefore the plaint was again put in respite. In point of fact, we have from that time to the present lost those hundred shillings, according to the old saying, "He that

* Judges xvi. 9. 12. 14. 20.

* Not during civil war or disturbance, when rights could not be prosecuted.

* Personal tithes.

will not when he may, when he will he shall have nay *."

The cellarers quickly succeeded each other, and every of them at the year's end became involved in a great debt. There were given to the cellarer in aid, twenty pounds out of Mildenhall, but that sufficed not. After that, fifty pounds were assigned to the cellarer each year from the same manor; and yet the cellarer was used to say, that this was not enough. The abbot, therefore, being anxious to provide for his safety and comfort, as well as for our own, knowing that in all our wants we must have recourse to him, as to the father of the monastery, associated to the cellarer a certain clerk of his own table, by name Master Ranulf, so that he might assist him both as a witness and companion in the expenses and receipts. And lo! many of us speak many things, and murmurings thicken, falsehoods are invented, scandals are interwoven with scandals, nor is there a corner in the house which does not resound with their venomous hissing. Some one says to another, "What is this that is done? who ever saw the like? there never was such an insult offered to the convent before. Behold! the abbot has set a clerk over a monk; see, he has made the clerk a master and keeper over the cellarer, as if he could do no good without him. The abbot thinks but lightly of his monks; he suspects his monks; he consults clerks; he loves clerks." "How is the gold become dim! how is the fine gold changed†!" also says one friend to another, "We are made a by-word to our neighbours. All of us monks are either reckoned faithless or improvident; the clerk is believed, the monk is not. The abbot had rather trust the clerk than the monk. Now is this clerk a whit more faithful or wise than a monk would be? Are not the cellarer and subcellarer, or can they not be, as faithful as the sacrist or the chamberlain? The consequence is, that this abbot or his successor will put a clerk along with the sacrist, a clerk with the chamberlain, a clerk with the subsacrists to collect the offerings at the shrine, and so on with all the officials, wherefore we shall be a laughing-stock and derision to the whole people." But I, hearing these things, was accustomed to answer, "If I, for my part, had been cellarer, I had rather that a clerk had been a witness for me in all my transactions; for had I done well, he would have rendered testimony of my well-deserving; if, again, I had, at the end of the year, become heavy laden with debt, I should be able to explain and to be excused by the testimony of that clerk." I heard, indeed, one of our brethren, a man both discreet and learned, say something upon this subject which affected myself and others very much. "It is not," he said, "to be wondered at, should the lord abbot interpose his exertions in the safe conduct of our affairs, especially as he wisely manages that portion of the abbey which belongs to him, and is discreet in the disposing of his own house, it being his interest to supply our wants in case of our carelessness or inability so to do. But there is one thing," he added, "which will prove dangerous after the death of the abbot Sampson, such as hath never come to pass in our days or in our lives. Of a surety the king's bailiffs will come and will possess themselves of the abbey as of a barony which belongeth to the abbot, as it has been heretofore done upon the decease of the other abbots, and as it was heretofore done upon the death of the abbot Hugh, when the king's bailiffs likewise desired to appoint new bailiffs in the town of St. Edmund, alleging as their authority that so the abbot Hugh had done: by a similar mode of reasoning, in process of time the king's bailiffs will appoint their clerk to keep the cellary, in order that every thing shall be done therein by him, and under his direction; and then we shall be told that they are entitled to act in this manner because abbot Sampson did so, and thus they will have the power of intermixing and confounding all the concerns and rents as well of the abbot as of the convent, all which, indeed, the abbot Robert, of good memory, had, with due consideration, distinguished in account, and had separated one from the other." Now when I heard these and such like expressions from a man of great thought and foresight, I was astonished, and held my peace, hardly bringing my mind to condemn the lord abbot, and yet not altogether desirous to excuse him. A.D. 1109-1112.

Now Hubert Walter, the Archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the Apostolic see, and justiciar of England, after he had visited many churches, and had by right of his legation made many changes and alterations, on his way home from his natural mother, who dwelt and died at Durham, sent two of his clerks over to us, bearing the sealed letters of his lord, wherein it was contained that we should give credit to what they should say and do. These men, indeed, interrogated the abbot and convent whether we were willing to receive their lord, now on his way to us as legate, in such wise as a legate ought to be received, and, in fact, is received by other churches. Whereto, if we were agreed, he would shortly come to us, for the purpose of making order concerning the matters and affairs of our church according to God's will: but if we were not agreed to assent thereto, those two clerks could more fully communicate to us their lord's behest. Hereupon the abbot, calling together most of the convent, we came to this resolution, that we should favourably answer the clerks thus sent to us, saying, that we were willing to receive their lord as legate with all honour and reverence, and to send together with them our own messengers, who, on our part, should communicate the same to the lord legate; and our intention was, that in the same way as we had done to the Bishop of Ely and other legates, so in like manner should we show him all possible honour, with a procession and ringing of bells, and that we should receive him with the other usual solemnities, until he should come into the chapter-house, perhaps with the intention of making his visitation; which if he was to proceed in doing, then all of us were to oppose him might and main to his face, appealing to Rome, and standing upon our charters. And the lord abbot said, "If at this present time the legate will come to us, we will do as is aforesaid, but if indeed he shall defer his arrival to us for a time, let us consult the pope, seeking to inquire what force ought the privileges of our Circ. 1198.

* Qui non vult capere quando potest, non capiet quando volet.

† Lament. iv. 1.

church to have, as being those which have been obtained from him and his predecessors, against the archbishop who has now obtained power from the Apostolic see over all the privileged churches of England." Such was our determination. But when the archbishop had heard that we were willing to receive him as legate, he received our messengers graciously, and with giving thanks. And he became favourable and kindly-disposed towards the lord abbot in all his concerns, and for certain emergent causes deferred his advent to us for a time. Therefore without the least delay, the abbot sent to the lord pope the same letters which the legate had sent to him and the convent, wherein it was contained that he was about to come to us by authority of his legation, and by the authority of the pope, and moreover, that to him was given power over all the exempt churches of England, notwithstanding the letters of exemption obtained by the church of York or any other.

The abbot's messenger expediting the matter, our lord the pope wrote to the lord Canterbury, asserting that our church, as his spiritual daughter, ought not to be accountable to any legate, unless it be to a legate of our lord the pope sent *a latere*, and enjoined him that he should not stretch forth his hand against us ; and our lord the pope added as from himself, a prohibition against his exercising jurisdiction over any other exempt church. Our messenger returned to us, and this was kept a secret for some days. Nevertheless the same was intimated to the lord Canterbury by some of his retainers at the court of our lord the pope. But when, at the end of the year, the legate made his visitation through Norfolk and Suffolk, and had first arrived at Colchester, the legate sent his messenger to the abbot, privately letting him thereby know that he (the legate) had heard say, that the abbot had obtained letters contravening his legation, and requesting that he, in a friendly way, would send him those letters. And it was done accordingly, for the abbot had two counterparts of these letters. The abbot indeed did not pay a visit to the legate, neither by himself nor by proxy, so long as he was in the bishoprick of Norwich, lest it should be thought that he wished to make fine* with the abbot for his entertainment, as other monks and canons had done. The legate, in good sooth disconcerted and angry, and fearing to be shut out if he came to us, passed by Norwich, by Acre, and by Dereham to Ely, in his way to London. But the abbot appearing within the month before the legate, between Waltham and London, in the king's highway, he informed him that he desired he would not oppose him as being justiciar of our lord the king, whilst he was in that country. The abbot on the other hand answered, that he did not travel as justiciar, but as a legate making visitation in every church, and alleged the reason of the time of year, and that the passion of our Lord was nigh at hand, and that it behoved him to be concerned in divine services and cloister duties. But when the abbot had opposed words to words, and objections to objections, and could neither be bent nor intimidated by threatening language, the legate replied with scorn, that he well knew him to be a keen wrangler, and that he was a better clerk than he the legate was. The abbot, therefore, not timidly passing by matters inexpedient to allude to, nor yet arrogantly speaking upon matters that were to be discussed, in the hearing of many persons, made answer that he was a man who would never suffer the privileges of his church to be shaken either for want of learning or money, even if it should come to pass that he lost his life, or was condemned to perpetual banishment. However, these and other altercations being brought to a close, the legate began to flush in the face, upon the abbot lowering his tone and beseeching him that he would deal more meekly with the church of St. Edmund, by reason of his native soil, for indeed he was a native of St. Edmund's and had been his fosterling. And, indeed, he had reason to blush, because he had so unadvisedly shewed the rancour of his heart.

On the morrow it was communicated to the archbishop of Canterbury, that the lord bishop of York was about to come as legate into England, and that he had suggested many evil things to the pope concerning him, stating that he had oppressed the churches of England by reason of his visitation to the extent of thirty thousand marks, which he had received from them. The legate, therefore, sent his clerks to the abbot, begging him that he would, with the other abbots, write to our lord the pope and justify him. Which the abbot willingly did, and thereby offered his testimony that the lord of Canterbury had not been to our church, nor had he oppressed any other church, speaking according to his conscience. And when the abbot had delivered those letters to the messengers of the archbishop, he said before us all, that he did not fear, even if he had been willing that the archbishop should be maligned in those letters ; and the clerks answered upon peril of their souls, that their lord did not contemplate any subtil dealings, but only wished to be justified. And so the archbishop and the abbot were made friends.

King Richard commanded all the bishops and abbots of England that for every nine knights of their baronies they should make a tenth knight, and that without delay those knights should go to him in Normandy, with horses and arms, in aid against the king of France. Wherefore, it behoved the abbot to account to him for sending four knights. And when he had caused to be summoned all his knights, and had conferred with them thereon, they made answer, that their fees*, which they had holden of St. Edmund, were not liable to this charge, neither had they or their fathers ever gone out of England, although they had, on some occasions, paid escuage by the king's writ. A.D. 1198.

The abbot was indeed in a strait; on one side observing that hereby the liberty of his knights† was in peril, on the other side apprehending that he might lose the seisin of his barony for default in the king's service, as indeed it had befallen the bishop of London and many English barons; so he forthwith went beyond seas to the king ; and being

* Compound with the legate for his absence by a payment of money.

* Fiefs, or feudal tenures called knights fees.

† His superior tenure and the profits of the service of these knights.

fatigued with many troubles and expenses, and the Lord knows how many presents which he gave the king; in the first place he could make no agreement with the king by money; therefore on the king's saying, that he did not want either silver or gold, but that he instantly required four knights, the abbot obtained four stipendiary knights. When the king had got these, he sent them to the castle of Eu, and the abbot instantly gave them thirty-six marks for their expenses for forty days. Now on the morrow, there came certain of the king's attendants, and recommended the abbot that he should carefully look to what he was about, stating, that the war might possibly last a whole year or more, and that the expenses of the knights would consequently increase and multiply, to the endless damage of him and his church; and they therefore advised him, that before he left the court he should make fine * with the king, so that he might therefore be quit in respect of the service of the aforesaid knights after the forty days were passed. The abbot, having adopted this good counsel, gave to the king one hundred pounds for such a quittance, and thus being in favour with his lord, he returned to England, bringing with him the king's writ, commanding that his knights should be distrained by their fees to render to him that king's service which he had got performed for them. But the knights, being summoned, alleged their poverty, and a whole host of grievances, and prevailed upon their lord to accept two marks upon every shield. The abbot, indeed, not forgetting that he had that same year burdened them much, and had impleaded them to make them render their escuage individually, was desirous of conciliating their esteem, and in good part accepted what they with a good grace offered. At that time, although the abbot had been put to great expenses beyond sea, yet he did not return home to his church empty handed; for he brought with him a golden cross, and a most valuable copy of the Gospels, of the value of fourscore marks. On another occasion when he returned from beyond seas, sitting in chapter, he said, that if he had been cellarer or chamberlain, he should have made some purchase which should have been serviceable to his office; and since he was abbot, he ought to purchase something that should beseem him as abbot. After saying this, he offered to the convent a valuable chasuble †, and a mitre interwoven with gold, and sandals with silken leggings, and a crozier or pastoral staff of silver and well wrought. In like manner, so often as he returned from beyond sea, he brought along with him some ornament or other.

A.D. 1197. In the year of grace one thousand one hundred and ninety-seven, certain innovations and alterations took place in our church, which ought not to be passed over in silence. Insomuch as his ancient rents were not sufficient for our cellarer, abbot Sampson ordered that fifty pounds from Mildenhall should be given of increase to the cellarer yearly, not all at one time but piecemeal, so that he should have something every month to expend, and that it should not all be disbursed at one time of the year; and so it was done for one year. But the cellarer with his fellows complained of this, saying, that if he had that money in hand, he would provide himself and preserve a sufficient stock: the abbot, although unwillingly, granted his petition. Now, on the commencement of the month of August, the cellarer had already spent all, and, moreover, was in debt twenty pounds, and a debt of fifty pounds was about to fall due before the feast of St. Michael; hearing of this, the abbot was very much annoyed, and thus spake in chapter:—"I have often and often threatened, that I will take the cellaryship into my own hands on account of your default and improvidence, who all of you incumber yourselves with a great debt; I put my own clerk with your cellarer as a means of obtaining experience, and in order that matters should be more advisedly managed, but there is neither clerk nor monk who dares to inform me of the real cause of debt. It is nevertheless said, that excess of feasting in the prior's inn by the assent of the prior and cellarer, and superfluous expences in the guest-house by the carelessness of the hospitaller *, are the cause of all this. Ye see," he continued, "what a great debt is now pressing; give me your advice, and tell me how this matter can be amended." Many of the cloister folks hearing this, and as if chuckling at the matter, took what was said in very good part, saying privily, All what the abbot saith is true enough. The prior cast the blame upon the cellarer, the cellarer in his turn upon the hospitaller; each one justified himself. We all of us well knew the truth of the matter, but we held our tongues, for we were afraid to do otherwise. On the morrow came the abbot, and said again to the convent, "Give me your opinion, as to the means whereby your cellaries can be better and more economically managed;" but there was no one who answered except one, who said, that there was no superfluity at all in the refectory which could occasion such a debt or pressure. On the third day the abbot spoke the same words, and one answered, "That advice ought to proceed from yourself, as from our head." Then the abbot said, "As ye will not state your opinion, and as ye are ignorant of yourselves to order your house, the management of the monastery solely rests upon myself as father and supreme keeper. I tak[illegible]," he said, "into my own hand your cellary and the charge of the guests, and the stewardship of every thing in doors and out of doors." So saying, he deposed the cellarer and the hospitaller, and put in their stead two other monks, under the style of sub-cellarer and hospitaller, associating with them Master G., a clerk of his own table, without whose assent nothing could be done, either in respect of meat or drink, or in regard of disbursements or receipts. The old purveyors were removed from their buying in the market, and provisions were bought by the clerk of the abbot, and all deficiencies were supplied out of the abbot's purse. The guests that were to be entertained were received, and the honourable were honoured; the officials and monks all of them alike took their meals in the refectory, and on all sides were superfluous charges retrenched. However, some of the cloister monks

* Pay a certain sum as an agreement or composition for the service.

† A priest's garment so called.

* He who took care of the guests and strangers—guest-master.

said among themselves, "Seven, ay seven there were who devoured our substance, of whose devourings if any one did speak, he was accounted as a person guilty of lese-majesty." Another would say, stretching forth his hands to heaven *, "Blessed be God, who hath imparted this resolution to the abbot to correct such excesses;" and very many of them said that it was well done. Others would say, not so; they considering that such reform was an abatement of respect, and styled the prudence of the abbot the ferocity of a wolf: verily they were again beginning to call their old dreams to mind, to wit, that the future abbot was to rage as a wolf. The knights marvelled, and the townsfolk marvelled at the things that came to pass, and some one of the common folks said, "It is a strange thing, that so many monks and learned men should permit their possessions and rents to be confused and mingled with the possessions of the abbot; especially as they have been always accustomed to be kept distinct and apart from each other. It is strange also, that they take no heed of the peril that may befall them after the death of the abbot, if our lord the king should find them in such a condition." Another certain person said, that the abbot was the only one amongst them who acted wisely in the governing of external affairs, and that that person ought to govern the whole who has the knowledge requisite to govern the whole. And there was one who said, "That if there had been but one wise monk in such a large convent, who knew how to govern the house, the abbot had not done as he had." And so we became a laughing stock and a scoff to our neighbours.

About this time it came to pass, that the anniversary obit of the abbot Robert was to be sung in chapter, and it was ordered, that a *placebo* and *dirige* should be sung more solemnly than ordinarily, to wit, with tolling of the great bells, as upon the anniversaries of the abbots Ording and Hugh, on account of the noble act of the aforesaid abbot Robert, who made the division between our possessions and rents and the rents of the abbot. This solemnity, indeed, was performed by the advice of certain persons, so that at least the heart of the lord abbot might thus be stirred up, to wit, to do what was right. There was also some one who thought that this was done as a reproach to the abbot, who, it was said, was desirous of confusing and mingling together our and his possessions and rents, insomuch as he had seized the cellarership into his own hands. The abbot, however, hearing the unwonted noise of the bells, and well knowing and observing that it was done against all usage, discreetly winked at the reason of its being done, and solemnly chanted the mass. Indeed, on the next Michaelmas day, desiring to appease the murmurings of certain persons, he appointed him who had been formerly sub-cellarer to be cellarer, and he ordered some other man to be named sub-cellarer: the aforesaid clerk, nevertheless, remaining with them, and managing all things as before; but when that clerk began to exceed the bounds of temperance, saying, "I am Bu," (meaning the cellarer, when he had exceeded the bounds of temperance in drinking,) and without the knowledge of the abbot, was holding the court of the cellarer, and did take gages and pledges *, and was receiving the annual rents, disbursing them by his own hand, he was called by the people the chief cellarer; and when often and often he would range about the court lodge, while many were following him, poor as well as rich debtors, and also plaintiffs of different degrees, and upon sundry affairs, as being master and high steward, perchance there might stand some one of our officials in the court-lodge, who, upon seeing this, for confusion and shame would weep outright, the more so on considering that this was a disgrace to our church, and pondering upon the peril consequent thereon, and, above all, reflecting that a clerk was preferred to a monk, to the prejudice of the whole convent. Therefore some one took in hand, whoever he might be, through some third person, that these things should be intimated to the abbot in a proper and reasonable manner; and it was given him to understand, that this species of arrogance in the clerk, which was committed to the disgrace and dishonouring of the convent, was very likely to breed a great disturbance and dissension in the convent. The abbot certainly did, when he heard of this, forthwith remove the cellarer and the aforesaid clerk, and gave orders, that from thenceforth the cellarer should consider himself as cellarer in receiving monies, in holding pleas, and in all other things, nevertheless saving this, that the aforesaid clerk should assist him, not as an equal, but as a witness and adviser.

Hamo Blund, one of the wealthier men of this town, on his death-bed could hardly be persuaded to make a will; at last he did make a will, but disposed of no more than three marks, and this in nobody's hearing, except his brother, his wife, and the chaplain. Now the abbot, after this man's decease, reflected upon this, and called those three persons before him, and sharply rebuked them, especially upon this point, that his brother (who was his heir) and his wife, would not suffer any one else to approach the sick man, they desiring to take all; and the abbot said in audience, "I was his bishop, and had the charge of his soul; let not the folly of his priest and confessor turn to my peril, but, insomuch as I could not advise the sick man when alive, I being absent, what concerns my conscience I shall now perform, though it may seem to have been done slowly. I therefore command, that all his debts and his moveable chattels, which are worth, as 'tis said, two hundred marks, be reduced into a writing †, and that one portion be given to the heir, and another to the wife, and the third to his poor kinsfolk and other poor persons. As to the horse which was led before the coffin of the defunct, and was offered to St. Edmund, I order that it be sent back and returned; for it does not beseem our church to be defiled with the gift of him who died intestate, and whom common report accuses that he was habitually wont to put out his money to use. By the face of God, if such a thing come to pass of any one in my days, he shall not be buried in the churchyard!" On his saying these things, the others departed greatly disconcerted.

On the morrow of the nativity of our Lord, there

* Tendens ad sidera palmas. Virg. Æn. i. 93.

* Acted as judge in the cellarer's court.

† An inventory.

took place in the church yard, meetings, wrestlings, and matches between the servants of the abbot and the burgesses of the town; and from words it came to blows, from cuffs to wounds and to the shedding of blood. The abbot, indeed, hearing of this privately, called to him certain of those who were present at the sight, but yet stood afar off, and ordered that the names of these evil doers should be set down in writing; all these he caused to be summoned, that they should stand before him on the morrow of St. Thomas the Archbishop, in the chapel of St. Dionis, to answer therefore. Nor did he, in the mean time, invite to his own table any one of the burgesses, as he had been wont to do, on the first five days of Christmas. Therefore, on the day appointed, having taken the oaths from sixteen lawful men, and having heard their evidence, the abbot said, "It is manifest that these evil doers have incurred the penalties of the canon *latæ sententiæ* *;" but because there are laymen all round us, and they do not understand what a crime it is to commit such a sacrilege as this is, and that others may be deterred from doing the like, I shall by name and publicly excommunicate these persons; and that in no wise there be any diminution of justice, I shall first begin with my own domestics and servants." And it was done accordingly, we having put on our robes and lighted the candles. Therefore they all went forth from the church, and being recommended so to do, they all stripped themselves, and altogether naked, except their drawers, they prostrated themselves before the door of the church. Now when the assessors of the abbot had come, monks as well as clerks, and informed him, with tears in their eyes, that more than a hundred men were lying down thus naked, the abbot wept. Nevertheless, making a show of the rigour of the law both in word and countenance, but concealing the tenderness of his mind, he was willing enough to be compelled by his counsellors that the penitents should be absolved, knowing that mercy is exalted over judgment, and that the church receives all penitents. Thereupon they being all sharply whipped and absolved, they swore all of them that they would abide by the judgment of the church for sacrilege committed. On the morrow penance was assigned to them, according to the appointment of the canons; and thus the abbot restored all of them to unity of concord, propounding terrible threats to all those who by word or deed should furnish matter of discord. Further, he publicly forbade meetings and shows to be had in the churchyard; and so all things being brought to a state of peace, the burgesses feasted on the following days with their lord the abbot, with great satisfaction.

A commission of our lord the pope had A.D. 1197. been directed to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and to the lord bishop of Lincoln, and to Sampson abbot of St. Edmund, touching the reformation of the church of Coventry, and the restoration of the monks thereto, without any cause assigned. The parties being summoned to Oxford, the judges received letters of request from our lord the king, that this business should be respited. The abbot alone spoke openly, the archbishop and the bishop seeming to know nothing, and being silent, as if seeking the favour of the clerks; a monk, on behalf of the monks of Coventry, publicly advocating and defending their cause. And by his means it was so far proceeded with on that day, that a certain simple seisin was made to one of the monks of Coventry by [delivery of] one book *." But corporal institution was deferred for a time, that in some degree the abbot might obey the request of our lord the king. Verily at that time he entertained in his inn the fourteen monks of Coventry, who were there present, and the monks at the table on one side of the house, and the masters of the schools who had been summoned thither. The abbot was applauded as noble and liberal in his expenses; nor did he ever seem in all his life so joyful as he at that time was, for the reverence he bore towards reform of monastic rule.

The feast of St. Hilary being now at hand, the abbot reached Coventry in high spirits, neither was he overcome by fatigue or charges, for he said, were it necessary for him to be carried in a horse-litter, he should not remain behind. On his arrival at Coventry, where for five days he was waiting for the archbishop, he kept with him all the aforenamed monks, with their servants, in most honourable wise, until a new prior was created, and the monks had been formally inducted. "He that hath ears to hear let him hear†," for it is an act worthy to be had in remembrance. A.D. 1198, 13 Jan.

After this the abbot Sampson and Robert de Scales came to an agreement concerning the moiety of the advowson of the church of Wetherden, and the same Robert acknowledged it to be the right of St. Edmund and the abbot. Thereupon the abbot, without any previous understanding taking place, and without any promise previously made, gave that moiety which belonged to him to master Roger de Scales, brother of the same knight, upon this condition, that he should pay by the hand of our sacrist an annual pension of three marks to that master of the schools who should teach in the town of St. Edmund. This the abbot did, being induced thereto by motives of remarkable generosity; and as he had formerly ‡ purchased stone houses for the use of the schools, that poor clerks should be free from house rent, so now from thenceforth they became freed from all demand of monies which the master of the school of custom demanded for his teaching. However, by God's will, and during the abbot's life, the entire moiety of the aforesaid church, which was worth, as 'tis said, one hundred shillings, was appropriated to such purposes. A.D. 1198.

Now the abbot, after that he had built in his towns throughout the abbacy many and various edifices, and had taken up his quarters at his manor houses oftener and more frequent than with us at home, at length, as if coming to himself, and as if making good better, said that he would stay more at home than he had been used to do; and would now erect some buildings within the court lodge for necessary purposes, having regard to internals and externals, and as if he was aware that "the presence of the master is the profit of the

* Ex. de Sent. Excom. Sacrilegium, 4 et seq. xvii. quæst. 4, can. 2.

* In lieu of a more formal induction to their monastery.

† Matt. xi. 15.

‡ Ante, p. 13, col. 1.

field *." Therefore he gave directions that the stables and offices in the court-lodge and round about the same, formerly covered with reeds, but now newly roofed, should be covered in at the sides, by the assistance of Hugh the sacrist, so all peril and danger of fire was prevented.

And now the long-hoped-for time, the long-wished-for day has arrived, whereof I write not but with great joy, myself having the care of the guests. Lo! at the command of the abbot the court-lodge resounds with spades and masons' tools, for pulling down the guest-house; and now it is almost all prostrated. Of the rebuilding, let the Most High take thought! The abbot built for himself a new larder in the court-lodge, and gave the old larder to the convent for the accommodation of the chamberlain, which, very inconveniently, was under the dormitory. The chapels of St. Andrew, and St. Katherine, and St. Faith are new covered with lead; many repairs also are made, both inside the church and without. If you will not believe, open your eyes and see. Also in his time was built our stone almonry, which previously was of wood and out of repair; whereto a certain brother of ours, Walter the physician, contributed much of what he had acquired by his practice of physic. The abbot also observing that the silver table of the high altar, and many other precious ornaments, had been alienated on account of the recovery of Mildenhall and the redemption of king Richard, was not desirous of replacing that table or such like matters, which upon a similar occasion might have to be torn away and misappropriated; he therefore turned his attention to the making a most valuable crest † to place over the shrine of the glorious martyr Edmund, that there his ornament should be placed from whence it could by no possibility be abstracted, and where no human being would dare to put his hand. For example, king Richard being captive in Germany, there was no treasure in England but was either to be given up or redeemed ‡, but yet the shrine of St. Edmund remained untouched. Now it became a question before the justices of the exchequer, whether the shrine of St. Edmund should not, at least in part, be stripped for the redemption of the king Richard; but the abbot standing up, answered, "Know ye of a surety, that this never shall be done by me, nor is there a man who can so compel me that I should consent. But I will open the doors of the church, let him enter who will, let him approach who dare." Each of the justices replied with oaths, "I will not venture to approach it. Nor will I. St. Edmund grievously punishes those who are far off as well as those who are near at hand; how much the more so will he inflict vengeance upon those who will take away his vesture." Upon this neither was the shrine despoiled or redemption paid. Therefore passing by other things, the abbot carefully and advisedly turned his mind towards the making of a crest for the shrine. And now the plates of gold and silver resound between the hammer and the anvil, and "tractant fabrilia fabri §."

* Præsentia domini provectus est agri. Pallad. lib. i. tit. 6. The eye of the master maketh the ox fat. The eye of the master does more work than his hands.

† *Crista*, "crest," any carved work or imagery to adorn the head or top of any wainscot, &c.—*Cowell's Interpreter.*

‡ Ante, p. 13, col. 2. § Horat. lib. ii. Ep. v. 116.

Adam de Cokefield dying, left for his heir a daughter of three months old; and the abbot gave the wardship, as belonging to his fee, to whom he would. Now King Richard, being solicited by some of his courtiers, anxiously sought for the ward and the child for the use of some one of his servants; at one time by letters, at another time by messengers. But the abbot answered, that he had given the ward away, and had confirmed his gift by his charter; and sending his own messenger to the king, he did all he could, *prece et precio*, to mitigate his wrath. And the king made answer that he would avenge himself upon that proud abbot who had thwarted him, was it not for reverence of St. Edmund, whom he feared. Therefore the messenger returning, the abbot very wisely passed over the king's threats without notice, and said, "Let the king send, if he will, and seize the ward; he has the strength and power of doing his will, indeed of taking away the whole abbey. I shall never be bent to his will in this matter, nor by me shall this ever be done. For the thing that is most to be apprehended is, lest such things by consequence be drawn to the prejudice of my successors. On this business, depend upon't, I will give the king no money. Let the Most High look to it. Whatever may befall, I will patiently bear with." Now, therefore, many were saying and believing that the king was exasperated against the abbot, but lo! the king wrote quite in a friendly way to the abbot, and requested that he would give him some of his dogs. The abbot, not unmindful of that saying of the wise man *,

About 1198.

"Munera (crede mihi) capiunt hominesque deosque:
Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis,

sent the dogs as the king requested, and moreover, sent some horses and other valuable gifts. Which, when the king had graciously accepted, he in public most highly commended the honesty and fidelity of the abbot, and also sent to the abbot by his messengers a ring of great price, which our lord, the pope Innocent the third, of his great grace had given him, to wit, being the very first gift that had been offered after his consecration. Also by his writ he rendered him many thanks for the presents he had sent him.

A.D. 1198.

Many persons marvelled at the changes in the customs that took place by the order or permission of the lord abbot Sampson. From the time when the town of St. Edmund took the name and liberty of a borough, the men of every house used to give to the cellarer one penny in the beginning of August, to mow our corn, which annual payment was called *rep-silver*; and before the town became free all of them used to reap as servants; the dwellings of knights and chaplains, and of the servants of the court-lodge, being alone exempt from this payment. In process of time the cellarer spared certain of the most wealthy of the town, demanding nothing from them; the other burgesses, seeing this, used openly to say, that no one who had a dwelling house of his own was liable to pay this penny, but only those who rented houses from others. Afterwards they all in common sought this exemption, conferring thereon with the lord abbot, and offering an annual rent as a composition of this demand. The abbot, indeed, considering

* Ovid Art. Am. v. 653.

how disgracefully the cellarer was going through the town to collect *rep-silver*, and the manner in which he used to take distresses in the houses of the poor, sometimes taking the stools, sometimes the doors, and sometimes other utensils, and how the old women came out with their distaffs, threatening and abusing the cellarer and his men, ordered that twenty shillings should be given every year to the cellarer at the next *portmane-mot* *, at the hand of the bailiff before August, by the burgesses who were to pay the rent to discharge this. And it was done accordingly, and confirmed by our charter, there being given to them another quittance from a certain customary payment, which is called *sorpeni*, for four shillings, payable at the same term. The cellarer was also used to receive one penny by the year from every cow belonging to the men of the town for going to the common for pasture (unless perchance they happened to be the cows of the chaplains or of the servants at the court-lodge); and these cows he was used to impound, and occupied himself much in such matters. Afterwards, indeed, when the abbot made mention of this in chapter, the convent were very angry, and took it in ill part, so much so that Benedict the subprior in the chapter, answering for all, said, "That man, the abbot Ording, who lies there, would not have done such a thing for five hundred marks of silver." The abbot, although he himself felt angry, put off the matter for a time. Also there arose a great contention between Roger the cellarer and Hugh the sacrist concerning the appurtenances of their offices, so that the sacrist would not lend to the cellarer the prison of the town for the purpose of detaining therein the robbers who were taken in the cellarer's fee*. Whereby the cellarer was oftentimes harassed, and because the robbers escaped he was reprimanded for default of justice.

Now it came to pass that one holding as a free tenant of the cellarer, dwelling without the gate, by name Ketel, was charged with theft, and being vanquished in camp-fight, was hanged. On this occasion the convent was grieved by reason of the scandalous words of the burgesses, who said, that if that man had only dwelt within the borough, it would not have come to camp-fight, but that he would have acquitted himself by the oaths of his neighbours, as is the liberty of those who dwell within the borough. Therefore the abbot and the more reasonable part of the convent seeing this, and bearing in mind that the men within the borough as well as those without are ours, and ought all of them in like manner to enjoy the same privilege within the liberties, except the villans of Hardwick and their peers, deliberately advised with themselves how this could be done. Thereupon the abbot being desirous of limiting the offices of the sacristy and the cellary by certain articles, and of quieting all contentions, but as if taking the part of the sacrist, commanded that the servants of the town bailiff and the servants of the cellarer should together enter upon the fee of the cellarer for the purpose of seizing robbers and malefactors, and that the bailiff should have half the profit of their imprisonment and safe keeping; and for his pains therein, and that the court of the cellarer should go to the *portmane-mot*, and there by their joint act, those that were to be tried should be adjudicated upon. It was also ordered that the men of the cellarer should come to the toll-house with the others, and there renew their pledges, and should be inscribed upon the bailiff's roll, and should there give the bailiff that penny which is called *borth-selver*, whereof the cellarer was to have one half part; but at this time the cellarer receives nothing at all from this. The intent of all this was, that every one should enjoy equal privilege. Nevertheless, the burgesses at this time say, that the dwellers in the suburbs ought not to be quit of toll in market, unless they belong to the merchants' guild. Moreover, the bailiff (the abbot winking at the matter) now claims for himself the fines and forfeitures accruing from the fee of the cellarer.

The ancient customs of the cellarer, which we have seen, were these. The cellarer was to have his messuage and barns near Scurun's well, at which place he was accustomed to exercise his jurisdiction upon robbers, and hold his court for all pleas and plaints, also at that place he was accustomed to put his men in pledge, and to inroll them and to renew their pledges every year, and to take such profit therefore as the bailiff of the town was to take at the *Portman-moot*, which messuage with the adjacent garden, now in the occupation of the infirmarer, was the mansion of Beodric, who was of old time the lord of that town, hence the town also came to be called Beodrichesworth, whose demesne lands now are in the demesne of the cellarer. And that which is now called *averland*, was the land of his rustics. And the total amount of that tenement of his and his churls was three hundred and thirty acres of land, which are still the fields of this town, the service whereof, when the town was made free, was divided into two parts, so that the sacrist, or the town bailiff, was to receive a free annual payment, to wit, of each acre twopence; the cellarer was to have the ploughings and the other services, to wit, the ploughing of one rood for each acre, without meals (which custom is still observed), and was to have the folds where all the men of the town, except the steward who has his own fold, are bound to put their sheep (which custom, also, is still observed); and was to have *aver-peni*, to wit, for each thirty acres two pence; which custom was done away with before the decease of the abbot Hugh, when Gilbert of Alveden was cellarer. Furthermore, the men of the town were wont upon the order of the cellarer to go to Lakenheath, and bring back a day's-work of eels from Southrey, and often, indeed, used to return empty, and thus to be harassed without any profit to the cellarer; therefore, it was settled between them, that each thirty acres, from thenceforth, should pay one penny by the year, and the men were to remain at home. But in fact, at this time, those lands are subdivided into so many parts, that it can hardly be ascertained by whom that annual payment is to be made; so that I have seen the cellarer, in one year, take twenty-seven pence, but now he can hardly get ten pence and a halfpenny. Also the cellarer was wont to exercise authority over the ways without the town, so that it was not lawful for any one to dig for chalk or clay without his licence. He also was

* Portman-moot, or port-moot.

† Within the limits of his jurisdiction.

accustomed to summon the fullers of the town, that they should furnish cloth for carrying his salt. Otherwise he would prohibit them the use of the waters, and would take the webs he found there; which customs are still observed. Also whosoever bought corn, or indeed anything from the cellarer, was accustomed to be quit from toll at the gate of the town when he went homewards, wherefore the cellarer sold his produce dearer; which usage is still observed. Also, the cellarer is accustomed to take toll of flax at the time of its carrying, to wit, one truss from each load. Also, the cellarer alone ought, or at least used to have, a free bull in the fields of this town; now many persons have bulls. Also, when any one surrendered his burgage land in alms to the convent, and this was assigned to the cellarer, or other official, that land ought, thenceforth, to be quit of *haggovele*, and most especially so to the cellarer, on account of the dignity of his office, for he is the second father in the monastery, or even as a matter of reverence to the convent, for the estate of those who procure our provisions ought to be favorable; but the abbot says that usage is unjust, because the sacrist loses his service. Also, the cellarer was accustomed to warrant to the servants of the court-lodge, that they should be quit of scot and tallage; but now it is not so, for the burgesses say, that the servants of the court-lodge ought to be quit only so far as they are servants, but not when they hold burgage in the town, and when they, or their wives, publicly buy and sell in the market. Also, the cellarer was used freely to take all the dunghills in every street, for his own use, unless it were before the doors of those who were holding *averland;* for to them only was it allowable to collect dung and to keep it. This custom was not enforced in the time of the abbot Hugh up to the period when Dennis and Roger of Hingham became cellarers, who being desirous of reviving the ancient custom, took the cars of the burgesses laden with dung, and made them unload; but a multitude of the burgesses resisting, and being too strong for them, every one in his own tenement now collects his dung in a heap, and the poor sell theirs when and to whom they choose. Also, the cellarer was wont to have this privilege in the market of this town, that he and his purveyors should have pre-emption of all the provisions for the use of the convent, if the abbot were not at home. Also, that the purveyors of the abbot, or cellarer, whichever of them first came into the market, should buy first, either the latter without the former, or the former without the latter. Bnt if both were present, then preference was to be given to the abbot. Also, in the season when herrings were sold, the purveyors of the abbot should always buy a hundred of herrings for less than the others by a halfpenny; and so of the cellarer and his purveyors. Also, if the bulk of the fish or other provisions should first come into the court-lodge, or into the market, and that bulk should not have been discharged from the horse, or from the cart, the cellarer, or his purveyors, might buy the whole and take it home with them without paying toll. But the abbot Sampson commanded his purveyors that they should give preference to the cellarer and his men, because, as he himself said, he had much rather himself should go without, than his convent. Therefore the purveyors, "in honour preferring one another*," if they find that there is any one thing to be bought which is not enough for both parties, buy it between them, and divide it, share and share alike, and so between the head and the members, and the father and the son, there remains a jarring concord†.

The poet saith, "Summa petit livor‡," and 'tis with reason I repeat these words, for that when somebody was perusing this narrative, and while he was reading of so many good acts, he called me a flatterer and a seeker of favour and grace, saying that I had silently suppressed some things which ought not to have been passed by. And when I inquired which and what sort of acts might they be, he answered, "Do you not see how the abbot grants away the escheats of land belonging to the demesnes of the convent, and the female heirs of lands, and the widows §, as well within the town of St. Edmund as without? Also do you not see how the abbot draws to himself the plaints and pleas of those who demand by the king's writ lands which are of the fee of the convent, and especially those plaints from which profit arises; and those from which no gain ensues, he turns over to the cellarer or sacrist, or other officials?" Whereto I answered, as I believe the fact to be, perhaps rightly, perhaps erroneously, and said, that every lord of a fee whereto there is homage, ought by right to have an escheat whenever it shall have fallen within that fee in respect whereof he has received homage; and by parity of reason, there is due to him general aid of the burgesses, and also the wardships of boys, and the gifts of widows and girls, in those fees in respect whereof he has received homage; for all these things seem to belong to the abbot alone, unless by chance the abbey shall be vacant. Moreover, in the town of St. Edmund a special custom has place, by reason of its being a borough, that the next cousin shall have the wardship of a boy with an inheritance, until the years of discretion. Furthermore, I thus answered him concerning the plaints and pleas, that I had never seen the abbot usurp pleas (*i. e.* jurisdiction) that belonged to us, unless in default of our administering justice; but nevertheless, he had on some occasions taken money, in order that by the intervention of his authority, plaints and pleas should attain their final determination. Also, I have observed, that sometimes pleas which belonged to us are decided in the court of the abbot, because there was not any in the commencement of the suit who would, on the part of the convent, assert the jurisdiction.

In the year of grace one thousand one hundred and ninety-eight, the glorious martyr Edmund was pleased to strike terror into our convent, and to instruct us that his body should be kept more reverently and observantly than it had hitherto been. Now there was a certain flooring between the shrine and the altar whereupon two tapers, which the keepers of the shrine used to join together, by placing one upon the other in a slovenly manner, stood; and under that flooring there were many things irreverently huddled together, such as flax, and thread, and wax, and various utensils, so that whatever was A.D. 1198.

* Rom. xii. 10. † Lucan i. v. 98.
‡ Ovid, Remed. Am. 369. § Ante, p. 10, col. 2.
‖ The fine on their subsequent marriage.

used by the keepers of the shrine was there put altogether, there being a door with iron gratings. Now, as we are given to believe, when these keepers of the shrine, on the night of St. Etheldreda *, were fast asleep, that part of the taper which had been clapt upon the other, and was still burning, fell upon the aforesaid flooring covered with rags, and consequently all that was above or beneath began to burn rapidly, so much so, that the iron gratings were at a white heat. And lo! the wrath of the Lord †, but not without mercy, was kindled, according to that saying, "In wrath remember mercy ‡;" for in the same hour the clock fell before matins; now the master of the vestiary getting up, observing and noticing the fire, ran as hard as he could, and having struck the bells as if tolling for a dead person, cried out lustily the shrine was consumed by fire. We, on the other hand, all running thither, found the fire raging wonderfully, and encircling the whole shrine, and not far from mounting up to the wood work of the church. Our young men, some running for water, some to the well, some to the clock, some with their hoods, not without great labour, extinguished the force of the fire, and also snatched from destruction some holy relics upon the first alarm. And when cold water was poured upon the front of the shrine, the stones fell and were reduced, as it were, to powder. Moreover, the nails whereby the plates of silver were affixed to the shrine, started from the wood, which had been burnt underneath to the thickness of my finger, and the plates of silver were left hanging without nails on one side or the other. However, the golden holy of holies § in front of the shrine, together with some of the stonework, remained firm and untouched, and, if any thing, brighter after the fire than it was before, for it all was of gold. It so happened, by the will of the Highest, that at that time a great beam which used to be beyond the altar, had been removed, in order that it should be repaired with new carving. It also happened that the cross, and the St. Mary, and the St. John, and the chest with the camise of St. Edmund, and the amulet, with relics, which used to hang from the same beam, and other holy things which also stood upon the same beam, had every of them been previously taken away, else these all would have been burnt, as we believe, even as a tapestry was burnt which hung in the place of this beam. But what would it have been had the church been curtained? When, therefore, we had assured ourselves that the fire had in no place injured the shrine, we most carefully began to inspect the chinks and crannies, if there were any; and now perceiving that all was cold, our grief was in a great measure abated. And behold! some of our brethren cried out with a great wailing, that the cup of St. Edmund had been burnt; and when many of us here and there had searched amongst the stones and plates, and among the coals and cinders, they drew forth the cup entirely uninjured, lying in the middle of the great charred timbers, which were then put out, and found the same wrapped up in linen cloth, half burnt. But the oaken box in which the cup was usually placed had been burnt to ashes, and was only to be recognized by the iron band and iron lock. This miracle being observed, we all wept for joy.

* 17 October.
† Num. xi. 33.
‡ Habak. iii. 2.
§ Majestas.

Now as we observed that the greater part of the front of the shrine was stripped off, and abhorring the disgraceful circumstance of this fire, after a consultation with all of us, we called a goldsmith to our assistance, and caused to be joined together the metal plates, and fixed them to the shrine, without the least delay, to avoid the scandal of the thing; we also caused to be concealed all traces of the fire, whether visible by wax or in any other manner. But the Evangelist testifies, that "there is nothing covered which shall not be revealed *;" for some pilgrims coming very early in the morning to make their offerings, they could have perceived nothing of the sort; nevertheless, certain of them peering about, inquired where was the fire that they had just heard had been about the shrine. And since it could not be entirely concealed, it was answered to these prying folks, that a candle had fallen down, and that three napkins had been burnt, and that by the heat of the fire some of the stone work in front of the shrine had been destroyed. Yet for all this there went forth a lying rumour, that the head of the saint had been burnt; some indeed contented themselves with saying that the hair only was burnt: but afterwards the truth being known, "the mouth of them that spake lies was stopped †."

All these things came to pass by God's providence, in order that the places round about the shrine of his saint should be more decently kept, and that the purpose of the lord abbot should be sooner and without delay carried into execution; to wit, that the shrine itself, together with the body of the holy martyr, should be placed with greater security, and with more pomp, in a more dignified position; for before this aforesaid mishap occurred, the crest of the shrine was half finished, and the marble blocks whereon the shrine was to be elevated and was to rest, were for the most part ready and polished.

The abbot, who at this time was absent, was exceedingly grieved at these reports; and he on his return home, and going into the chapter-house, declared that these and the like, nay, much greater perils, would certainly befal us for our sins, more especially for our grumbling with our meat and drink; in a certain measure turning the blame upon the whole body of the convent, rather than upon the avarice and carelessness of the keepers of the shrine, to the intent that he should discreetly carry this question, viz., that we should abstain from our pittances for at least one year, and should lay aside, for at least one year, the rents of the pittancery, for the purpose of repairing the front of the shrine with pure gold; himself, indeed, first showed us an example of liberality, by giving all the treasure of gold he possessed, to wit, fifteen golden rings, worth, as 'twas believed, sixty marks, in our presence, towards the reparation of the shrine. We, on the other hand, all of us, freely gave our pittancery for such purpose; but our resolution was afterwards altered, by the sacrist saying that St. Edmund could very well repair his shrine without such assistance.

At this time there came a certain man of great account, but who he was I know not, who related to the abbot a vision he had seen, whereat he him-

* Luke xii. 2.
† Psalm lxii. 12.

self was much moved; and indeed he related the same in full chapter, after a very bitter preface. "It is indeed true," he said, "that a certain great man hath seen a vision, to wit, that he saw the holy martyr St. Edmund lie outside his shrine, and with groans to say that he was despoiled of his clothes, and was wasted away by hunger and thirst; and that his churchyard and the courts * of his church were negligently kept." And this dream the abbot expounded to us all publicly, laying the blame upon our side, in this wise: "St. Edmund alleges that he is naked, because ye defraud the naked poor of your old clothes, and likewise that you give with reluctance what ye are bound to give them of your meat and drink. Moreover, the idleness and also the negligence of the sacrist and his associates, is apparent from the recent misfortune by fire which has taken place between the shrine and the altar." Hearing this the convent looked very grave, and after chapter many of the brethren met together, but they interpreted the dream after this fashion: "We," say they, "are the naked members of St. Edmund, and the convent is his naked body; for we are despoiled of our ancient customs and privileges. The abbot has every thing, the chamberlainry, the sacristy, the cellary; while we perish of hunger and thirst, because we have not our victuals, save by the clerk of the abbot and by his ministration. If the keepers of the shrine have been negligent, let the abbot lay it to his own charge, for 'twas he who appointed such careless fellows." In such wise spake many in the convent. But when this interpretation of the dream was communicated to the abbot, in the forest of Harlow, in his way from London, he was very wroth, and was much annoyed, and made answer, "They will wrest that dream against me, will they? By the face of God! so so soon as I get home I shall restore to them the customs they say that are theirs; and I shall withdraw my clerk from the cellary, and shall leave them to themselves; and I shall see how wise they will be at the end of the year. This year I have been residing at home, and I have caused their cellary to be managed without incurring of debt; and this is the manner in which they render me thanks." On the abbot's return home, having it in purpose to translate the blessed martyr, he humbled himself before God and man, meditating within himself how he might reform himself, and make himself at peace with all men, especially with his own convent. Therefore, sitting in chapter, he commanded that a cellarer and sub-cellarer should be chosen by our common assent, and withdrew his own clerk, saying, that whatsoever he had done, he had done it for our advantage, as he called God and his saints to witness, and justified himself in various ways.

A.D. 1198. 20 Nov. "Hear, O heaven†!" the things that I speak; "listen, O earth‡!" to what abbot Sampson did. The feast of St. Edmund now approaching, the marble blocks were polished, and every thing made ready for the elevation of the shrine. The feast day having therefore been kept, on the sixth day of the week, Sunday being the next day, a three days' fast was proclaimed to the people. The abbot also announced to the convent, that they should prepare themselves for transferring the shrine, and placing it upon the high altar, until the masons' work was finished; and he appointed the time and the manner for doing this work. Now when we had that night come to matins, there stood the shrine upon the altar, empty within, adorned with white doeskins above, below, and round about, which were fixed to the wood by silver nails; but one panel stood below, by the column of the church, and the sacred body still laid there, as it was wont. Lauds having been sung, we all proceeded to receive our disciplines. This being performed, the lord abbot and those with him were clothed in albs; and approaching reverently, as it was fit we should, they hastened to uncover the coffin. First there was an outer cloth of linen, overwrapping the coffin and all, this was found tied on the upper side with strings of its own; next there was a certain silken cloth, and then another linen cloth, and then a third; and so at last the coffin was uncovered, standing upon a little tray of wood, that the bottom of it might not be injured by the stone. Over the breast of the martyr there lay fixed from outside the coffin an angel of gold, about the length of a man's foot, holding a golden sword in one hand, and a banner in the other; and underneath it there was a hole in the lid of the coffin, where the ancient keepers of the martyr had been used to lay their hands, for the purpose of touching the sacred body. And this was the verse inscribed over the figure of the angel:—

"*Martiris ecce zoma servat Michaëlis agalma**."

At the two heads of the coffin were iron rings, as there used to be on the Danish coffin†; therefore, raising up the coffin, together with the body, they carried it to the altar, and I lent thereto my sinful hand to help in carrying it, although the abbot had strictly commanded that no one should come nigh unless he were called; and the coffin was placed within the shrine, and the panel‡ was put thereon and fastened down. Now we all began to think, that the abbot would exhibit the coffin to the people on the octaves of the feast, and bring forth the sacred body before all of us; but we were sadly deceived, as the following will show, for on the fourth day, the convent then singing the completorium, the abbot spoke with the sacrist and Walter the physician, and it was resolved, that twelve brethren should be appointed who were strong enough to carry the panels of the shrine, and cunning§ in fixing and unfixing them. The abbot then said, that it had been the object of his prayers, to see his patron *saint*, and that he wished to join with him the sacrist and Walter the physician when he looked upon him; and those that were appointed were the abbot's two chaplains, the two keepers of the shrine, and the two keepers of the vestiary, and six others, Hugh the sacrist, Walter the physician, Augustine, William of Dissy, Robert and Richard. The convent being all asleep, those twelve were clothed in albs, and drawing the coffin from off the shrine, carried and placed it upon a table near

* Atria ecclesiæ suæ. † Isaiah i. 2. ‡ Isaiah xxxiv. 1.

* "Behold the martyr's body St. Michael's image keeps." † In cistâ Norensi. ‡ Or outer lid. § 1 Chron. xxii. 15.

where the shrine used to be, and commenced unfastening the lid, which was joined and fixed to the coffin with sixteen very long iron nails; this when with considerable difficulty they had performed, all were ordered to go further away, except the two forenamed associates.

Now the coffin was so filled with the sacred body, both in length and width, that even a needle could hardly be put between the head and the wood, or between the feet and the wood, and the head lay united to the body, somewhat raised by a small pillow ; the abbot, looking attentively, next found a silk cloth veiling the whole body, and then a linen cloth of wondrous whiteness, and upon the head a small linen cloth, and after that another small and very fine silken cloth, as if it had been the veil of some nun ; and, lastly, they discovered the body, wound round with a linen cloth, and then it was that the lineaments of the saint's body were laid open to view. At this point the abbot stopped, saying he durst not proceed further, or view the holy body naked ; but taking the head between his hands, he thus spoke in a subdued tone ; "Glorious martyr, St. Edmund, blessed be the hour wherein thou wast born ! Glorious martyr, turn it not to my destruction that I, miserable sinner, do touch thee, for thou knowest my devotion and my feelings." And proceeding, he touched the eyes, and the nose, which was very massive and prominent, and then he touched the breast and arms, and raising the left arm he touched the fingers, and placed his own fingers between the fingers of the saint ; and proceeding, he found the feet standing up stiff, like the feet of a man who had died to-day, and he touched the toes, and in touching, counted them. And it was proposed, that the other brethren should be called forward, in order that they might see the miracles; and those six, being thus called, approached, and also six other brethren with them, who had stolen in without the abbot's assent, and did see the saint's body, to wit, Walter of St. Alban's, and Hugh the infirmarer, and Gilbert the brother of the prior, and Richard of Hingham, and Jocell the cellarer, and Thurstan the little, who alone put forth his hand, and touched the feet and knees of the saint ; and that, by the providence of the Most High, there should be abundance of witnesses, one of our brethren, John of Dissy, sitting upon the roof of the church with the servants of the vestiary, saw all these things plainly enough. All this being done, the lid was fastened down on the coffin with the same and with the same number of nails, and in like manner as before, the martyr being covered up with the same cloths and in the same order as he was when first discovered ; and, finally, the coffin was placed in the accustomed place, and there was put upon the coffin, near to the angel, a certain silken pocket, wherein was deposited a schedule written in English, containing certain salutations * of Ailwin the monk, as 'tis believed, which schedule was first found close by the golden angel when the coffin was uncovered. And by the abbot's order, there was forthwith written another short memorial, also deposited in the same pocket, under the following form of words : *Anno ab incarnatione domini M°.C. nonagesimo octavo, abbas Samson, tractus devotione, corpus sancti Ædmundi vidit et tetigit, nocte proximâ post festum sanctæ Katerinæ, his testibus *;* and thereto were subscribed the names of eighteen monks. The brethren also wound the whole coffin up with linen cloth compactly enough, and under the same placed a new and most valuable silken cloth, which Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, had offered at the shrine that very year, and they placed lengthwise a certain linen cloth doubled under it and next to the stone, to prevent the coffin or the tray whereon it stood being injured by the stone ; and afterwards the panels were brought forth, and with great care joined together on the shrine. Now when the convent came to chant matins, and perceived what had been done, all those who had not seen these things were very sorrowful, saying among themselves, " we have been sadly deceived." However, after matins had been sung, the abbot called the convent to the high altar, and shortly showing them what had been done, alleged that he ought not—nor was it fit— that he should call all of them to be present on such an occasion. Hearing this, with tears we sung " Te Deum laudamus," and hastened to ring the bells in the choir. Nov. 26.

On the fourth day after, the abbot deposed the keepers of the shrine and the keeper of St. Botolph, appointing new ones, and establishing rules, so that the holy places should be more carefully and diligently kept, he also caused the great altar, which heretofore was hollow, and wherein many things were irreverently stowed away, and that space which was between the shrine and the altar, to be made solid with stone and cement, so that no danger from fire could arise by the negligence of the keepers, as had been already the case, according to the saying of the wise man, who saith :—

Felix, quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum †.

Now when the abbot had obtained the favour and grace of King Richard by gifts and money, so that he had good reason to believe that he could succeed according to his desire in all his undertakings, the King Richard died, and the abbot lost his labour and pains. However, King John, immediately after his coronation, setting aside all other affairs, came down to St. Edmund, drawn thither by his vow and by devotion. We, indeed, believed that he was come to make offering of some great matter ; but all he offered was one silken cloth, which his servants had borrowed from our sacrist, and to this day have not paid for. He availed himself of the hospitality of St. Edmund, which was attended with enormous expense, and upon his departure bestowed nothing at all either of honour or profit upon the saint, save thirteen easterling pence, which he offered at his mass on the day of his departure. A. D. 1199.

About that time some of our officials made complaint, stating in our chapter, that Ralph the por-

* Devout praises or invocations to St. Edmund.

* In the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1198, the abbot Sampson, upon the impulse of devotion, saw and touched the body of St. Edmund on the night of the feast of St. Katherine, these being witnesses.

† Erasm. Adag. 616.

ter, our servant, maintained causes and actions against them, to the damage of the church and to the prejudice of the convent. And it was ordered by the prior, by assent of us all, that he should be punished according to our custom whereby our servants are used to be punished, to wit, by the withholding of their stipends; it was therefore ordered, that the cellarer should withhold from him, not the corody * which of right belonged to his office according to the tenor of his charter, but certain additions and perquisites which the cellarer and sub-cellarer allowed him without knowledge of the convent at large. Now the aforesaid Ralph, accompanied by certain of the abbot's table, complained to the abbot on his return from London, that the prior and convent had disseised him of his corody, whereof he was seised when the abbot had first come to the abbacy; they also stated to the abbot, that this act was done without his interference, and to his dishonour, and unreasonably, without his advice, and for no assignable cause. The abbot indeed believed him, and, in other wise than became him, was excited, instantly justifying Ralph, and affirming that he was innocent; and coming into chapter and thereof complaining, said that what had been done was to his prejudice, and without his consent. And it was answered by one of us, the others all joining him, that this was done by the prior, and with the assent of the whole convent. The abbot was confused at this, and saying, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me †," by no means overlooking this (as he ought to have done), for the sake of peace to the many, but rather exhibiting his power with a resolution not to be overmastered, openly gave command to the cellarer, that he should restore to Ralph fully and wholly all that had been taken from him, and that he should drink nothing but water till he had restored every thing. But Jocell the cellarer hearing this, chose for that day to drink water, rather than restore the corody to Ralph against the will of the convent. But when the abbot came to the knowledge of this, on the morrow he forbade both meat and drink to the cellarer until he restored all; with these words, the abbot immediately departed from the town, and stayed away for eight days.

On that same day whereon the abbot had departed, the cellarer arose in chapter, and exhibiting the precept of the abbot, and holding his keys in his hand, said that he had rather be deposed from his office than do any thing in opposition to the convent. And then there commenced a great tumult in the convent, such as I had never before seen; and they said that the precept of the abbot was not to be obeyed. But the seniors and more prudent men of the convent, discreetly holding their tongues, upon being urged, gave it as their opinion that the abbot was to be obeyed in every thing, except in things manifestly against God's pleasure; and intimated that we must bear with this scandalous behaviour for a time, for the sake of peace, lest a worse thing happen. Now when the prior began to sing "Verba mea ‡," for all deceased, as is the rule, the noviciates stopped, and with them nearly the moiety of the convent, and raising their voices they all cried out in answer, and opposed it. Nevertheless, the senior part of the convent prevailed, although they were few in respect of the rest of the multitude. The abbot, although absent, yet by his messengers terrified some by threats, some others he drew over to him by fair words, and the more influential men of the convent, as though they were afraid even of his garment, he caused to secede from the counsel of the generality, as if that Gospel should be fulfilled which saith, "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation *." Moreover, the abbot said that he would by no means come amongst us, by reason of the conspiracies and oaths which, as he said, we directed against him, that we should kill him with our knives. However, returning home, and sitting in his inner chamber, he gave orders to one of our brethren whom he vehemently suspected, that he should come to him; and because he would not come to him, he fearing to be taken and bound, he was excommunicated; and the whole day after, he lay bound hand and foot, remaining till morning in the infirmary. Three others he also included in a lesser condemnation, in order that the others might fear. On the morrow it was resolved, that the abbot should be informed that we were willing to humble ourselves before him, both in word and demeanour, so that his anger might be appeased; and it was done accordingly. He, on the other hand, answering meekly enough, but always alleging his own rectitude, laid the blame upon us; yet when he saw that we were willing to be vanquished, was himself fairly overcome; and bursting into tears, he swore that he had never grieved for any one thing as he had upon the present occasion, as well on his own account as on our account also, and more especially for the scandal, the evil report which had already gone abroad concerning our dissension, saying, that the monks of St. Edmund were about to kill their abbot. And when the abbot had told us how he went away on purpose till his anger had cooled †, repeating this saying of the philosopher, "I would have taken vengeance upon thee had I not been angry ‡," he arose weeping, and embraced all and every of us with the kiss of peace. He wept indeed, and so did we. Presently the brethren who had been excommunicated were absolved; and thus the tempest ceased, "and there was a great calm §." Yet for all this the abbot gave private orders that the accustomed corody should be given without stint to Ralph the porter, as heretofore; of which matter, however, we took no further notice, being at last made to understand that there is no lord who will not bear rule, and that battle is perilous which is undertaken against the stronger, and is begun against the more powerful party.

In the year of grace one thousand two hundred, a marshalling took place of the knights of St. Edmund || and of their fees, whereof their ancestors had been infeoffed. A.D. 1200.

Alberic de Vere holds five knights' fees and a

* An allowance of food from the convent. † Is. i. 2.
‡ The psalm that commences thus in the Vulgate, viz. Ps. v. 1.

* Matt. xii. 25. † Cic. iv. Tusc. 36.
‡ Cic. iv. Tusc. 79. Seneca, l. i. de Irâ, c. 15.
§ Mark iv. 39. Luke viii. 24.
|| Of those who held one or more knights' fees of the abbot as their lord.

half: to wit, in Loddon and in Brom, one knight's fee; in Mendham and Preston, one knight's fee; in Rede, one knight's fee; and in Cokefield, half a knight's fee; and in Livermere, two knights' fees.

William of Hastings holds five knights' fees: to wit, in Lidgate, and in Blunham, and in Herlinghe, three knights' fees; and in Tibenham and in Gissing, two.

The earl Roger holds three knights' fees, in Norton and Brisingeham.

Robert Fitz Roger holds one knight's fee, in Marlesford.

Alexander of Kirkby holds one knight's fee, in Kirkby.

Roger of Eu holds two knights' fees, in Michfield and in Topscroft.

Arnald of Charneles and his co-parceners, one knight's fee, in Oakley, and in Quidenham, and in Thurston, and Stuston.

Osbert of Wachesham, one knight's fee, in Marlingford and in Wortham.

William of Tostock, one knight's fee, in Randestune.

Gilbert Fitz Ralph, three knights' fees: to wit, in Thulnetham and in Hepworth, one knight's fee; in Reydon [in Blithing], and in Gissing, one knight's fee; and in Saxham, one knight's fee.

Ralph of Bukenham, half a knight's fee in Bukenham.

William of Berdwell, two knights' fees, in Berningham, and in Berdewell, and in Hunston, and in Stanton.

Robert of Langetoft holds three knights' fees, in Stow, and in Ashfield, and in Troston, and in Little Waltham in Essex.

Adam of Cokefield, two knights' fees: to wit, in Lavenham, and in Onehouse, one knight's fee; and in Lelesey.

Robert Fitz Walter, one knight's fee, in Great Fakenham, and in Sapston.

William Blund, one knight's fee in Thorp.

Gilbert Peche, two knights' fees: to wit, in Wande and in Geddinge, one knight's fee; in Falesham, and in Euston, and in Grotens, one knight's fee.

Gilbert of St. Clare, two knights' fees, in Bradfield and in Watlesfield.

Geoffrey of Whelnethan and Gilbert of Manston, one knight's fee, in Whelnethan and in Manston.

Hubert of Ansty, half a knight's fee, in Bridinghoe.

Gervase of Rothing, one knight's fee, in Chipley and in Rothing.

Robert of Halsted, one knight's fee in Halsted, and half a knight's fee in Brockley.

Reynold of Brockley, one knight's fee in Brockley.

Simon of Pateshull, half a knight's fee in Whatefield.

Peter Fitz Alan, half a knight's fee in Brockley.

Ralph de Presseni, half a knight's fee in Stanningfield.

Richard of Ickworth, two knights' fees in Ickworth and in Wangford.

Robert of Horning, half a knight's fee in Horning.

Walter of Saxham, one knight's fee in Ashfield and in Saxham.

William of Wordewell, half a knight's fee in Whelnethan.

Norman of Riseby, half a knight's fee in Riseby.

Peter of Livermere and Alan de Ameton, one knight's fee in Livermere and Ameton.

Roger de Muriaus, one knight's fee in Thorpe.

Hugh of Illeigh, in Illeigh, and in Preston, and in Bradfield, two knights' fees.

Stephen of Brockdish, one-fourth part of a knight's fee in Brockdish.

Adam of Benningeham, one-fourth part of a knight's fee in Benningeham.

William of Wordewell, in Little Livermere and in Wordewell, one-fourth part of a knight's fee.

The sum is fifty-two fees * and one-half and one quarter.

Now Geoffrey Ruffus, one of our monks, although he deported himself in somewhat too secular a manner, yet was a useful person to us, in the keeping of the four manors of Barton, Pakeham, Rougham, and Bradfield, where there had been heretofore a deficiency in the farms. But the abbot, although hearing of the evil report of his continence, yet winked at it for a long time, most likely because Geoffrey seemed to be serviceable to the community. At length, when the fact could be no longer concealed, the abbot suddenly made a seizure of his chests, put them in the vestiary, and caused all the stock of the different manors to be kept most closely, and clapped Geoffrey in prison. There was found a mighty deal of gold and silver, to the value of two hundred marks, the whole of which the abbot said was to be laid by for the purpose of building the front of the shrine of St. Edmund. On the feast of St. Michael it was decreed in chapter, that two brethren, not one alone, should succeed to the keepership of the manors, whereof one was Roger of Hingham, who promised before us all that he was willing and able to undertake the charge of the manors and cellary together; and the abbot gave his assent thereto, but yet with reluctance. And Jocell, who well and carefully had managed his office, and for two years had been in charge of the cellary, without incurring debt, as other cellarers had used to do, was deposed from the cellary, and was made sub-cellarer. But at the end of the year Roger, on rendering account of his receipts and outgoings, affirmed that he had received sixty marks from the stock of the manors to supply the deficiency of the cellarer. Therefore it was resolved, that Jocell should be restored to the cellary; and Mildenhall, and Chebenhall, and Sutwald, and the other manors were committed to Roger and Albin, and were divided from the cellary, lest that the manors should be ruined by the cellary, or the cellary be ruined by the manors.

Adam of Cokefield being dead, the abbot could have had three hundred marks for the wardship of the only daughter of the same Adam; but because the grandfather of the damsel had taken her away privily, and insomuch as the abbot was not able to obtain seisin of the damsel unless by the aid of the archbishop, the abbot granted that wardship to Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, for the consideration of one hundred pounds. The archbishop, for five hundred marks, granted to Thomas de Burgh, the brother of the king's chamberlain, that same wardship, and the damsel was delivered to him, with his title thereto, by the hand of the abbot. Thomas, therefore, required the seisin † of

* Fiefs holden by knights' service.

† Absolute possession.

these manors, which we had in our hands after the death of Adam,—Cokefield, Semere, and Groton: we believing that we had power to retain all of them in our demesne, or at least two of them, Semere and Groton; because Robert of Cokefield, being on his death bed, had publicly affirmed, that he could claim nothing by right of inheritance in these two manors; as also, that Adam, his son, had re-assigned to us those two manors in full court, and had made his charter thereof, wherein it was contained, that he holds those two manors by the permission of the convent only during his life. Thomas, therefore, suing a writ of recognition thereof, caused the knights to be summoned, that they should come to be sworn before the king at Tewkesbury. Our charter read in public had no force, for the whole court was against us. The oath being administered, the knights said, that they knew nothing about our charters, or of any private agreements; but this they said they did believe, that Adam and his father, and his grandfather, for a hundred years back, had holden the manors in fee-farm, one after the other, on the days of their respective deaths; and thus we were disseised* by the judgment of the court, after much trouble and many charges expended, saving nevertheless our ancient fee-farm rents payable annually.

The lord abbot seemed to be misled
A.D. 1200. by a certain appearance of right†, because, forsooth, the Scripture saith, "I will not give my glory to another‡." The abbot of Cluny coming to us, and received by us in such wise as he ought, our abbot would not give place, either in chapter or in the procession made on the Lord's day, but he must needs sit and stand in the middle between the abbot of Cluny and the abbot of Chertsey; wherefore divers thought different things, and many expressed their feelings in various ways.

Robert the prior was at this time in a dying state, but while he was yet alive, many opinions were uttered as to the appointing a new prior. Some one, therefore, related to us, that the abbot sitting in the choir, and stedfastly beholding all the brethren from the first to the last, found no one, upon whom his spirit might rest§, save Herbert his chaplain. By these and similar acts the will of the abbot was made apparent to most of us. Some one of us hearing this, answered that it was not to be believed; asserting "that the abbot, a diligent and prudent man, to such a man, a youth and almost beardless novice of twelve years, who had only become a cloister monk four years, not approved in the cure of souls, nor in doctrinal learning—to such a one," said he, "he will never give the priority." Now, when the prior died, the abbot was staying in London; and a certain person said, "A month has scarcely elapsed, since the abbot made Herbert the chaplain, subsacrist, and when he committed that office to him, in the chapel of St. Nicasius, he did so by promising that if he could, by any means, make him prior, he would use his utmost exertions on his behalf." Some one hearing of this, who was desirous of making himself agreeable to the abbot and the future prior, most urgently solicited many of us, the seniors with the juniors, that when the opportunity presented itself they would nominate Herbert, at least with some others, for prior; and he swore that, by this means, they would gratify the abbot, for such indeed was his desire.

There certainly were many of us, as well of the seniors as the juniors, who asserted, that the same Herbert was an amiable and affable man, and worthy of much honour. Also there were some, few in number indeed, but whose advice was more respected, and who belonged to the more considerate part of the convent, who were desirous of promoting Master Hermer the supprior to the priority, as being an experienced, learned, and eloquent man, skilful and expert in the cure of souls, who at that time had governed the cloister for fourteen years in good discipline, an approved supprior and well known; this man, I say, they were desirous of preferring, according to that saying of the wise man, "experto crede magistro;" the greater number of us secretly grumbled in opposition, saying, that he was a passionate, impatient, restless, turbulent, and fretful man, a litigious person, and a disturber of peace, deriding him, and saying, "The discretion of a man deferreth his anger; and it is his glory to pass over a transgression*." Also another one said, "This one thing, as being a scandal, is to be much guarded against, if the supprior be removed, that is to say, henceforwards learned clerks will not deign to take on them the religious habit in our house, if it should happen that any dumb statue be set up, and a wooden log be preferred in such a convent as ours." And the same brother added somewhat more, saying, that the person to be prior of our convent, should be such a one that if any question of great importance arose in the abbot's absence concerning ecclesiastical or secular affairs, it might be referred to him as prior, and as being the higher and more discreet person. A certain one of our brethren hearing these and such like things, said, "What good is it that ye multiply so many and such sayings? When the abbot shall have come home, he will do in respect of this matter according to his own will. Perhaps he may seek the advice of every one of us, and even singly, with great show of formality; but at the termination of his labour, by allegations and by parallel reasonings and circumlocution of words, he will at last come down to the fulfilling of his own desire; and as he has preordained it, such will be the issue of the affair."

The abbot, therefore, having returned, and sitting in chapter, set forth to us amply and eloquently enough what sort of man ought to be appointed prior; and John the third prior answered in the presence of us all, that the supprior was a worthy and fit person. But the greater number immediately opposed, saying, "A man of peace, let a man of peace be given us." Two of us, therefore, replied to them, saying, that such a person should be appointed who knew how to direct the souls of men, and to distinguish "between leprosy and leprosy†," which saying gave great offence, for it seemed to favour the part of the supprior. But the abbot hearing this uproar, said that he would after chapter hear what each had to say, and so

* Put out of possession.

† Orig. Decipi quadam specie recti.—Horat. in Art. Poet. 25. Decipimur specie recti.

‡ Isaiah xlii. 8. xlviii. 11. § Numb. xi. 26.

* Proverbs xix. 11. † Deut. xvii. 8. (Vulgate.)

advisedly proceed in the business, and upon the morrow the business should be despatched accordingly. In the mean time some one said, that the abbot would go through this formality in order that the supprior should be cautiously removed from the priority, as if it had been done by the advice of the convent, and by the desire of the abbot, and so he the abbot would be held excused, and by this policy the mouth of them that speak lies should be stopped *.

On the morrow, the abbot, as he sat in chapter, wept sorely, saying, that he had passed the whole night without sleep, for sheer anxiety and apprehension that he might chance to nominate one who was displeasing to God; and he swore upon peril of his soul, that he would nominate four of us who, according to his opinion, were most serviceable and fit, so that we should choose one from those four. Therefore the abbot, in the first place, named the sacrist, whom he well knew to be infirm and insufficient, as the sacrist himself testified with an oath. Forthwith, in the presence of all, he next named John the third prior, his cousin, and Maurice his chaplain, and the before-named Herbert, all indeed young men, as it were, forty years old or under, and all of them of moderate learning, and so far as respects the cure of souls, rather requiring to be taught than learned therein, nevertheless apt to learn. These three the abbot nominated and preferred, passing over the supprior, and passing by many others of the seniors and priors, experienced and learned men, and who had formerly been masters of the schools, as well as all others. The abbot dwelt long in speaking of and commending the person of John in many respects, but, nevertheless, on the other side alleged, that the great number of his relations in this province would lie heavy on his neck if he were prior. And now when the abbot was about to allege the same thing concerning Maurice (and he could with reason do it), so that in a roundabout way he should come to make mention of Herbert, his discourse was interrupted by one of the priors of the convent saying, "My lord precentor, you have the first voice; name lord Herbert." But all he said was, "He is a good man." On hearing the name of Herbert the abbot stopped short, and turning to the precentor, said, "I have no objection to receive Herbert if ye will." On this saying, the whole convent cried out, "He is a good man; he is a good and amiable man;" and this same thing also many of the priors testified. Immediately hereupon the precentor and his fellow with him, and two others on the other side, with all haste arose, and put Herbert in the midst. Herbert, indeed, at first humbly begged to be excused, saying, that he was insufficient to fill such a dignity, and particularly, as he said, he was not of such perfect knowledge that he should know how to make a sermon in chapter in such manner as would become a prior. Most of those who witnessed this were amazed, and for very confusion struck dumb. However, the abbot replied many things in his recommendation, and as it were in disparagement of learned men, saying, that he could well remember and con over the sermons of others, just as others did; and began to condemn rhetorical flourishes, and pompous words, and choice sentences, saying, that in many churches the sermon in convent is delivered in French, or rather in English, for the improvement of manners, not for literary ostentation. After this had been said, the new prior advanced to the feet of the abbot and kissed them. The abbot received him with tears, and with his own hand placed him in the prior's seat, and commanded all of us that we should pay him the reverence and obedience due to him as prior.

The chapter being over, I being hospitaler, sate in the porch of the guest-hall, stupified, and revolving in my mind the things I had heard and seen; and I began to consider closely for what cause and for what particular merits such a man ought to be advanced to so high a dignity. And I began to reflect, that the man is of comely stature and of personable appearance; a man of handsome face and amiable aspect; always in good temper; of a smiling countenance, be it early or late; kind to all; a man calm in his bearing, and grave in his demeanour; pleasant in speech, possessing a sweet voice in chanting, and expressive in reading; young, brave, of a healthy body, and always in readiness to undergo travail for the need of the church; skilful in conforming himself to every circumstance of place or time, either with ecclesiastic or with secular men; liberal and social, and of easy temper; not spiteful in correction, not suspicious, not covetous, not drawling, not slothful; expert and fluent of tongue in the French idiom, as being a Norman by birth; a man of moderate understanding, whom if too much learning should make mad *, might be said to be a perfectly accomplished man. When I regarded these things, I said in my mind, such a man would become very popular, but "there is nothing every way blessed †," and I wept for joy, saying "That God hath visited his people ‡; as the Lord pleased, so it hath been done." But of a sudden another thought occurred to me: "be cautious in your praise of a new man, for honours alter manners, or rather they shew them. Wait and see who and what sort of men will be his counsellors, and to whom he will give ear, for each thing naturally draws to it its like. The event will prove his doings, and therefore, be sparing in your praises."

On the same day, certain unlearned brethren, as well officials as cloister-folk, set their heads together, and whetted their tongues, like a sword, that they might shoot in secret§ at the learned, repeating the words of the abbot, which he had that day spoken, as it were to the prejudice of the learned, and thus they said to one another, "Now let our philosophers take to their philosophies. So often have our good clerks declined in the cloister, that they are now declined‖. So much have they sermonized in chapter, that they are all driven away. So much have they spoken of separation between leprosy and leprosy, that as lepers they are all put out. So often have they

* Psalm lxiii. 11.

* Acts xxvi. 24.

† Horat. Carm. lib. ii. 16. "Nihil est ab omni parte beatum."

‡ Luke vii. 16.

§ Psalm lxiv. 4.

‖ Avoided.

declined *musa, musæ*, that all of them are reckoned musards *." These and such like things certain uttered in ridicule and scandal of others, justifying their own ignorance: they utterly rejected the knowledge of polite learning, and disparaged learned men, being very merry, and expecting great things, which, in all probability, will never come to pass, for

Fallitur augurio spes bona sæpe suo †.

The wise man hath said, "No one is in every respect perfect;" nor, therefore, was the abbot Sampson. For this reason I have said this, for according to my judgment, the abbot was not to be commended when he caused a deed to be made and ordered the same to be delivered to a certain one his servant, for him to have the sergeanty of John Ruffus, after the decease of the same John: Ten marks, as it was said, did blind the eyes of the wise ‡. Wherefore, upon Master Dennis, the monk, saying that such an act was unheard of, the abbot replied: "I shall not cease from doing as I like a whit the more for thee than I would for that youngster." The abbot also did the like thing in respect of the sergeanty of Adam the infirmarer, upon payment of one hundred shillings. Of such an act it may be said, "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump §."

There is, also, another stain of evil doing, which I trust in the Lord he will wash away with tears, in order that a single excess may not disfigure the sum total of so many good deeds. He dammed up the pool of the park at Babwell so high, for the service of a new mill, that by the keeping back of the water there was not a man, rich or poor, who had land near the water, from the gate of the town to the eastern gate, but lost his garden and his orchards. The pasture of the cellarer, upon the other side of the bank, was spoilt, the arable land, also, of the neighbouring folks was much deteriorated. The meadow of the cellarer withered, the orchard of the infirmarer was laid under water by the great flow of water, and all the neighbouring folks complained thereof. Once, indeed, the cellarer argued with him in full chapter, upon this excessive damage; but he, quickly moved to anger, made answer, that his park was not to be spoilt on account of our meadows.

The dean of London writes thus in his chronicles: "King Henry the Second, having conferred with the archbishop and bishops concerning the vacant abbacies, so far observed the rule of the canons in appointing abbots, that it was accustomed to appoint them upon votes solicited from other houses; thinking, perhaps, that if parties were created in every place from their own body, a certain previous familiarity would afford impunity to vice, and old acquaintanceship would place crime upon the same footing with indulgences; and thereby too great remissness would obtain in cloisters." Another has said: "It does not seem fit that a pastor should be elected from his own house, but rather from some other house; for if he be taken from some other place he will, if a good man, always believe according to the extent of the convent who has received him as their governor, that those whose counsel he may require are careful persons, yet he will distrust their honesty, if he is a bad man. But a servant of the house, being fully aware of the ignorance, inability, and insufficiency of every one, will the more securely serve therein, *mutans quadrata rotundis**."

The monks of Ramsey followed this line of reasoning, for in those days, when they were able to choose one of their own body, on two occasions they chose an abbot from other houses.

In the year of grace, one thousand twelve hundred and one, there came to us the abbot of Flaix †, and through his preaching, caused the open buying and selling, which took place in the market on Sundays, to be done away with, and it was ordained that the market should be held on the second day ‡. The like the abbot brought to pass in many cities and boroughs of England. A.D. 1201.

In the same year the monks of Ely set up a market at Lakenheath, having the permission, as well as the charter, of the king. Verily, we in the first place, dealing peaceably with our friends and neighbours, sent our messengers to the chapter of Ely, and, first of all, to the lord bishop of Ely, letters of request that he should forbear his intentions; adding, that we could, in a friendly way, for the sake of peace and preserving our mutual regards, pay the fifteen marks that were given as a fine for obtaining the king's charter. What next? they would not give way, and then upon all sides arose threatening speeches, and "pila minantia pilis §." We therefore purchased a writ of inquest, to ascertain whether that market was established to our prejudice, and to the damage of the market of the town of St. Edmunds. And the oath was made ||, and it was testified, that this had been done to our damage. Of all which, when the king was informed, he caused it to be enquired, by his registrar, what sort of charter he had granted to the monks of Ely; and it was made to appear that he had given to them the aforesaid market under such conditions that it should not be to the injury of the neighbouring markets: the king, therefore, forty marks being offered, made to us his charter, that from thenceforward there should be no market within the liberty of St. Edmund, unless by the assent of the abbot. And he wrote to Geoffrey-fitz-Peter, his justiciar, that the market of Lakenheath should be abolished. The justiciar wrote the same to the sheriff of Suffolk. The sheriff, being well aware that he could not enter upon the liberties of St. Edmund, or exercise any authority there, gave it in charge to the abbot by his writ, that this very thing should be performed according to the form of the royal command. The steward of the hundred, therefore, coming thither upon the market day, with the witnessing of freemen, in the king's name openly prohibited that market, shewing the letters of the king and the sheriff; but being treated with great abuse and violence, he departed, leaving matters as they were at first. The abbot, on the other hand, deferring this matter for awhile, being at London, and consulting the learned thereupon,

* "Dreamers."—*Chaucer*. Drivellers.
† Ovid. Epist. xvii. 23.
§ 1 Cor. v. 6.
‡ Deut. xvi. 19.

* Horat. l. i. Epist. i. 100.
† St. Germer de Flaix.
‡ Monday.
§ Lucan. l. i. v. 7.
|| That is, the verdict was given on oath.

commanded his bailiffs, that taking with them the men of St. Edmund with horse and arms, they should abolish the market, and that they should bring along with them, in custody, those the buyers and sellers therein, if they should find any. Now, in the dead of the night, there went forth nearly six hundred men well armed, proceeding towards Lakenheath. But when the scouts gave intelligence of their arrival, all who were in the market ran here and there, and not one of them could be found. Now, the prior of Ely on that same night had come thither, with his bailiffs, expecting the arrival of our men, in order that to the best of his ability, he should defend the buyers and sellers; but he would not stir out of his inn: and when our bailiffs had required from him gage and pledge to stand trial in the court of St. Edmund, for the wrong committed by him, and he had refused, upon consultation they overturned the butchers' shambles, and the tables of the stalls in the market, and carried them away with them; moreover, they led away with them all the cattle, sheep, and oxen; yea, and the beasts of the field*, as they went towards Ikelingham. The bailiffs of the prior following them made suit for their cattle, by replevin within fifteen days. And their suit was allowed. Within the fifteen days there came a writ, whereby the abbot was summoned that he come before the court of exchequer to answer for such act, and that the cattle taken should, in the mean time, be delivered up without charge. For the bishop of Ely, who was an eloquent and well-spoken man, in his own person had made complaint thereat to the justiciar and the nobles of England, saying that a most unheard-of piece of arrogance had been committed in the land of St. Etheldreda in time of peace; wherefore many were highly indignant with the abbot.

In the mean while, another cause of disagreement arose between the bishop and the abbot. Whereas a certain young man of Glemesford had been summoned to the court of St. Edmund, for a breach of the king's peace, and it had been pending a long while; now here, in the county court, the steward of the bishop brought forth that young man, claiming the jurisdiction of the court of St. Etheldreda, and exhibiting the charters and privileges of his lord: our bailiffs, however, claiming the jurisdiction of the plaint and the seisin of such liberty, could not hearken to them. The county court, indeed, put that plaint in respite until the justices in eyre should arrive, wherefore St. Edmund was ousted of his jurisdiction. The abbot, on hearing this, proposed to go over to the king; but because he was sick, he wished to defer the matter till the Purification. And, behold! on St. Agnes' day there came the king's messenger, bearing the writ of our lord the pope, wherein it was contained, that the lord of Ely and the abbot of St. Edmund should make inquisition concerning Geoffrey-Fitz-Peter and William de Stuteville, and certain other lords of England who had taken the cross, for whom the king required discharge, alleging their personal infirmity, and the necessity for their advice in the safe conduct of his kingdom. The same messenger also brought the letters of our lord the king, commanding that he, upon the sight thereof, should come to him to confer upon the message of our lord the pope. The abbot was troubled in his mind, and said, "I am distressed on all sides; I must either offend God or the king: by the God of truth, whatsoever may be the consequence to me, I will not wittingly lie." Therefore, returning home with all speed, somewhat weakened by infirmity of body and humbled, and more than ordinarily timid, by the intervention of the prior, he sought advice of us (a thing he heretofore had seldom done), as to what course he was to pursue in respect of the liberties of the church which were in jeopardy, and from whence the money was to come if he took this journey, and to whom the keeping of the abbey was to be committed, and what should be done for his poor servants who had a long time served him? And the answer was, that he might go, and that he was at liberty to take up at interest sufficient money, to be payable out of our sacristy and from our pittances, and from our other rents at his pleasure; and that he should give the abbey in charge to the prior, and some other clerk whom he had enriched, and who could therefore live upon his own means, that thereby a saving might take place in the expenses of the abbot, and that he might give to each of his servants money proportioned to his length of service. He, hearing such counsel, took it as very kind of us, and it was acted up to accordingly. The abbot, therefore, coming into chapter the day before he took his departure, caused to be brought with him all his books, and these he presented to the church and convent, and commended our counsel which we had signified to him through the prior.

In the mean while we heard certain persons murmuring, saying, that the abbot is careful and solicitous for the liberties of his own barony, but he keeps silence respecting the liberties of the convent which we have lost in his time; to wit, concerning the court and liberties of the cellarer now lost to us, and concerning the liberties of the sacristy; nor as regards the appointment of the bailiffs of the town by the convent doth he say anything. Therefore the Lord moved the spirit in three brethren of but indifferent knowledge, who having got many others to join them, conferred with the prior thereupon, in order that he should speak with the abbot respecting these matters, and who, on our parts, was to ask him, at his departure, to provide some protection to his church in respect of those liberties. On hearing this, the abbot answered, that no more was to be said upon the subject, swearing that so long as he lived he would be the master: but towards evening he talked more mildly thereupon with the prior. On the morrow, indeed, sitting in chapter, as he was about to depart and ask licence so to do, he said he had satisfied all his servants, and had made his will just as if he was now to die; and beginning to speak concerning those liberties, he justified himself, saying, that he had changed the ancient customs in order that there should not be a default in the administration of the king's justice, and threw the blame upon the sacrist, and said, that if Durand the town bailiff, who was now sick, should die, the sacrist would hold the bailiwick in his own hand, and would present the bailiff to the chapter for approval, as the custom had been of old, so nevertheless that this

* Psalm viii. 8.

be done with the assent of the abbot; but the gifts and offerings made yearly by the bailiff he would in no wise remit. Now when we asked him what was to be done in respect of the cellarer's court, which was lost, and especially of the halfpence which the cellarer was accustomed to receive for renewing pledges, he became angry, and asked us in his turn, by what authority we demanded the exercise of regal jurisdiction, and those things which appertain to regalities; whereto it was replied, that we had possessed it from the foundation of the church, and even three years after he had come to the abbacy, and this liberty of renewing pledges we possessed in every one of our manors *; and we stated, that merely because he had received a hundred shillings from the town bailiff every year, we ought not to lose our right; and we boldly required of him to give us such seisin thereof as we had even in his time. The abbot, indeed, being as it were closely pressed for an answer, and willing enough to leave us all in peace and to depart quietly, ordered, that those halfpence and the other matters which the cellarer demanded should be sequestered until his return; and he promised that upon his return, he would co-operate with us in every thing, and make just order and disposition, and render to each what was justly his. On his saying this, all was quiet again; but the calm was not very great, for—

Pollicitis dives quilibet esse potest *.

* That is, they had view of frankpledge in all their manors.

* Ovid, Art. Am. l. i. v. 444.

NOTES.

PAGE 1. Col. 1. Line 5.

When the Flemings were taken without the town.]—This event occurred in the autumn of 1173. During the contest between King Henry II. and his two sons, Richard and John, supported by their mother Eleanor; the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury remained firm to the royal cause, and here it was that Richard de Lucy, the king's chief justiciar, Humphrey de Bohun, high constable, Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, and other noblemen assembled their army. Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, received Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, who landed at Walton in Suffolk with a large body of Flemings, at Framlingham Castle. They were met at Fornham, St. Genevieve, by the king's army, and were defeated on the 27th (some say the 16th) October, 1173. On this occasion the banner of St. Edmund was carried in front of the king's army, for the purpose of inspiring confidence in the soldiers (see page 16, col. 2). The Earl of Leicester and his countess Petronilla (or Parnell) with many others, were taken prisoners, and seven *tumuli*, or barrows, on the road from Bury to Thetford, with many others of a smaller size, yet remain as marking the burial place of the Flemings, of whom a vast number were slain, with their commanders.

The chroniclers describe the field of battle as being near St. Edmund, in the place called Fornham, in a certain marsh not far from the church of St. Genevieve, and near the river. This is said to be a faithful description of the place; and many relics of war, besides silver pennies of Henry II. have been discovered near this spot. In particular, in felling, in 1826, an ancient pollard ash that stood upon a low mound of earth about fifteen feet in diameter, near the church of Fornham, St. Genevieve (the ground being within the Duke of Norfolk's park, but apparently part of the church-yard at some former time), a heap of skeletons, not less than forty, was discovered in good preservation, piled in order, tier above tier, with their faces upward, and their feet pointing to the centre. Several of the skulls exhibited marks of violence, as if they had been pierced with arrows or cleft with the sword. In the bed of the river in the adjoining parish of Fornham, St. Martin, was also found, some years since, a gold ring with a ruby, which is conjectured by some to be the ring that the countess of Leicester is related by Matthew Paris to have thrown away in her flight.

PAGE 1. Col. 1. Line 24.

All the hundreds were set to farm.]—The meaning of this is, that the services as well as the jurisdiction of eight hundreds and the half hundred of Cosford, of which the convent were possessed, were leased or let on farm to bailiffs, a very unprofitable mode of management, as well as oppressive on those who owed suit and service to the hundred courts.

PAGE 1. Col. 1. Line 7 from the bottom.

Every official.]—The word *obedientarius* in the Latin has been rendered *official*, which to this day is used to designate an ecclesiastical officer. As these officials are often alluded to in Jocelin's Chronicle, the following remarks are offered to the reader :—

The number of monks and officers in the monastery of St. Edmund, like that of all similar bodies, was fluctuating and various. The full establishment appears to have been eighty monks, fifteen chaplains attendant on the abbot and chief officers, about one hundred and eleven servants in the various offices, chiefly residing within the walls of the monastery, and forty priests officiating in the several chapels, chauntries, aud monastic appendages in the town, with an indefinite number of professed brethren. The abbot was termed supreme, and all the others obedientiel or *obedientarii*.

The abbot's will was the law of the monastery.

The prior was next in dignity to the abbot, and assisted him in the discharge of his duties. During the vacancies and in the absence of the abbot, the prior governed the convent, and was then called in courtesy in mitred abbeys, lord prior.

The sub-prior in like manner assisted the prior; his duties seem to have been somewhat of an inquisitorial character: in St. Edmund's monastery a third prior was appointed, as was the case in large monasteries, where even a fourth prior was sometimes appointed.

The cellarer or bursar, who is styled the second father of the convent (p. 30), had the charge of everything relating to the food of the monks, and superintended the refectory, kitchen, cellar, bakehouse, &c. His was an office of honour and profit; his *customs*, i. e. perquisites and dues, are detailed at length by our chronicler at p. 29.

The sacrist, or sacristan, or sexton. His office was to take charge of all the consecrated church

plate and utensils, he received all the fees and oblations made at the high altar. His duty was also to see to the reparation and improvement of the monastery and most of the offices both within and without; he also looked to the lighting of the church, and the performance of the divine offices. At this monastery he had the probate of wills.

The sub-sacrist was an assistant to the sacrist.

The chamberlain or treasurer kept the money and valuables of the convent; he had it in charge to look to the clothing of the convent.

The sub-chamberlain assisted the chamberlain in these duties, and also had to see the lights in the dormitory extinguished at twilight and day-break.

The refectorarius, or comptroller of the refectory, had the care of the refectory or common dining hall, and he distributed the eatables and drinkables to the brethren.

The almoner distributed the alms of the convent, which it was his business to collect.

The pietancer, or pittanciar, distributed the pittances, which answer to what are called in colleges *exceedings*. He had a small allotment of revenues, but the income of his office was chiefly supported by oblations.

The hospitaller provided for the reception of strangers, pilgrims, and visitors. His apartment was the hostrey, the domus-hospitum, or guest-house, which it was his duty to keep well-furnished with beds, seats, tables, towels, and with sufficient cheer. In the monastery of St. Edmund there appear to have have been two of these officials, one named the *outer*, the other the *inner* hospitaller; but in our chronicler's time there was only one.

The infirmarer was entrusted with the care of the sick monks.

The precentor, or chantor, had the care of the choral service, and presided over the singers, choristers, and organist; in those monasteries where there was not a master of the novices he superintended the education of the novices; he also furnished writing materials, and colours for illuminating, and materials for binding the books.

There were other obedientiarii or officials, of whom mention is made in this chronicle, and who seem peculiar to this convent, viz. the keepers of the shrine, whose business it was to collect the oblations from the pilgrims, and to preserve the sacred body and its appendages and decorations from damage or diminution. (How the persons alluded to in our chronicler's account as filling this office executed their charge is detailed at p. 31.) The porter or gate-keeper, whose office was one of considerable trust, was filled by a layman, to whom the office was in this monastery granted in fee, and the reversion of the office sold.

The vestiarius, or vestry-keeper, took care of the robes and sacred vestments.

There was also a seneschal or steward, who was a layman of rank, and kept the abbot's courts, and performed his law business.

There were also a great number of inferior officials, who either occupied petty departments, or assisted in various mean offices; these were filled by laymen as well as monks, but mostly by the former; the curious reader will find them described in *Yates's Illustration of the Monastic History and Antiquities of the Town and Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury*. 4to, Lond. 1805. p. 202.

PAGE 1. Col. 1. Line 3 from the bottom.

By the great roll of the pipe for Norfolk and Suffolk, 17 Hen. II., it appears, that Benedict the Jew, son of Deodate, was in 1171 fined 20*l.* for taking sacred vestments in pawn. By the same record for the 29 Hen. II. it is shown, that Sancto the Jew, of St. Edmund's Bury, was fined five marks (i. e. he compounded for that sum), that he might not be punished for taking in pledge certain vessels that were appointed for service of the altar. The same pretence for extorting money from the Jews was urged against the Jews in France at the same time, under Philip II., with this addition, that they used those pledges for unworthy purposes or base uses, as the French chronicles of that date will testify.

PAGE 1. Col. 2. Line 3.

Isaac the son of Rabbi Jocee.]—This man was most probably the son of that *Josceus presbyter*, Joscee the high priest, whose name appears upon the great roll of the pipe for London and Middlesex, 14 Hen. III., as rendering a pair of gilt spurs for certain land that he held in the Jewry of London. The name of Jocee appears to be intimately connected with the pecuniary affairs of the convent; for Madox, Hist. Exchequer, ii. 90., informs us, that Jocee the goldsmith was sworn in the exchequer for the office of moneyer for the abbot of St. Edmund's, 4-5 Ed. I. 1276 or 1277. The Jews do not appear to have been the only specialty creditors of the convent, for William Fitz Isabel, mentioned in the same breath with Isaac, son of Rabbi Jocee, was sheriff of London 1194, and the officials are stated by our chronicler, as ready to be bound in debt to Jews as well as to Christians.

PAGE 1. Col. 2. Line 14.

Guilds and fraternities.]—A guild was a fraternity or company, combined together with orders and laws made among themselves by their lord's licence. A fraternity was a brotherhood, or society of religious persons, who were mutually bound to pray for the good health and life, &c. of their living brethren. The latter of these associations, however, was not unfrequently entered into by burgesses in towns and cities, and were companies with by-laws, although incorporated by the charter of their superior lord under a religious title or style. The mention made by Stow in his "Survey of London," respecting the Skinners' Company in London*, may serve as an example of these mixed societies, to which many, if not all of the older city companies, owe their origin.

Chaucer alludes to these associations in the "Canterbury Tales†," where, in describing some burgesses as pilgrims, he says—

> "An haberdashèr and a carpentèr
> A webber, a dyer, and a tapisèr,
> Were alle yclothëd in a liverè
> Of a solempne and grete *fraternitè*,
> * * * * *
> Which semed eche of hem a fayre burgèis
> To sitten in a *gild* halle on the deis."

Many of these fraternities preserved their religious character, and assembled in parish churches, or other places of worship, being incorporated for that purpose by letters patent, up to the time of the Reformation.

* Downegate Ward. † Lines 361—372.

PAGE 2. Col. 1. Line 32.

The nature of this exemption from visitation will appear in page 24.

PAGE 2. Col. 1. Line 20 from the bottom.

Sent to Acre.] — Castle-Acre, West-Acre, and South-Acre in Norfolk, are all described in Domesday-book under the title *Acra*. There were two priories, one at Castle-Acre, the other at South-Acre; it was to one of these that Sampson alludes, as having been sent thither for correction; the circumstances of his disgrace he himself is represented as relating, page 14, col. 1.

PAGE 2. Col. 1. Line 4 from the bottom.

What he had promised to our lord the pope and the cardinals.]—The obtaining of these privileges from the pope was an extremely expensive affair; indeed the pope claimed, only for a confirmation of a new abbot on his election, 3000 florins—an enormous sum in those days.

PAGE 3. Col. 1. Line 12 from the bottom.

The wardship of the abbey, &c.]—The accounts of the wardens of the abbey are preserved in the great roll of the pipe for Norfolk and Suffolk, 27 and 28 Hen. II. From these accounts it appears, that the rental of the abbot of St. Edmund's from Michaelmas 1180 to Michaelmas 1181, according to the ancient assize, and exclusive of the sustenance of the monks, who had their own portion of lands, was 326*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*, out of which was paid in corodies 56*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; of these corodies 21*l.* was allowed for the abbot's expenses for six weeks before his death, and 35*l.* was paid to the archbishop of Norway, then lodged by the crown for the time in the monastery. Of other monies beside the rents of assize, were 27*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* for corn sold, 13*s.* 4*d.* paid by Walter de Westley for his relief, and 9*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* the amount of the minute perquisites of the abbey, the minute issues therefrom being 2*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* These accounts show the exact time the abbey was vacant.

PAGE 3. Col. 2. Line 32.

The great tower of the church.]—This and the passage at p. 6. col. 2. l. 26 from the bottom, respecting *the towers of the church*, refer to the great-bell tower, and the lateral towers of the west end of the monastic church, begun by abbot Baldwin, or his successor Robert; ruins of some portion whereof are still to be seen. (Archæol. xxiii. 327.) Sampson's tower appears to have been blown down in 1210. The magnificent Norman gate-house, at the entrance of the church-yard, still standing, is distinguished by the monastic writers from the *campanile*, or belfry, under the name of the *great gate of the church of St. Edmund*, or the *great gate of the church-yard*, and was probably the work of Hervey the sacrist, in the time of Anselm the seventh abbot. It was at this gate that the monks received Sampson (p. 7. col. 2). This gate-house, now converted into a belfry, was certainly not used for that purpose until after the fall of the bell-tower in 1630, and probably not until after the destruction of the monastic church, as the bell-tower would seem to have been rebuilt.—*Note by the late Mr. Rokewode.*

PAGE 4. Col. 2. Line 1.

The barrators of Norfolk.]—This was an allusion to Sampson the future abbot, who was a native of Norfolk, and spoke the dialect of that county, as our chronicler elsewhere remarks, page 12, col. 1. line 32. The word *Barrator*, is used on another occasion as a term of bitter reproach, where he is styled a proud fellow and Norfolk barrator (p. 12. col. 2).

PAGE 5. Col. 1. Line 7.

At bloodletting season.]—At stated times in the year there was a general bleeding *(minutio sanguinis)* among the monks.

PAGE 5. Col. 1. Line 10 from the bottom.

The archbishop of Norway.]—In 1180, Augustine archbishop of Drontheim, taking part with Magnus king of Norway, against Suer, a successful competitor for the throne, whose sovereignty the archbishop would not acknowledge, left his see and came to England. The length of his stay is stated in the accounts of the wardens of the abbey, viz., from 9 August, 1181, until about the election of abbot Sampson in February following.

PAGE 5. Col. 1. Line 2 from the bottom.

The holy child Robert suffered martyrdom.]—It was charged against the Jews at this, indeed at later periods, that they used to crucify a child on Good-Friday, in contempt and derision of the sufferings of our Saviour. An old French chronicle, in reciting the chief events in the reign of Philip Augustus, states this charge most circumstantially, viz., that the Jews, of whom a vast number at that time (1180) existed in France, used to kidnap a Christian child, and having secreted it in some subterraneous place, to torture it and ultimately to crucify it on Good-Friday, and assigns this alleged tragedy as a reason for the young French king's seizing and despoiling all the Jews in his kingdom, immediately after his coronation. In England a child was said to be "martyred" by the Jews at Norwich, in 1137, and was afterwards "sainted," as Saint William. The next instance that occurs is that to which Jocelin alludes in the present chronicle. At this time St. Edmund's Bury had become famous for its monastic establishment, and the monks turned to good account the feelings which the belief of this crime had excited, perpetrated as it was alleged to be by the Jews dwelling in the town of St. Edmund. The monks caused the body of this child to be interred with great ceremony and ostentation, the shrine was declared capable of producing supernatural effects, and speedily became renowned for the miracles said to be effected. Pilgrimages were made from all parts, and the church might have been very much enriched by the offerings of the credulous and superstitious. Jocelin himself, as he tells us very gravely, wrote a book detailing these miracles. The book is not to be met with.

A similar story prevailed in respect of the Jews at Winchester in 1192. In Henry III.'s time this accusation was repeated. In the reign of Philip II. of France, in addition to the spoliation the Jews suffered on his accession, another instance is cited from a contemporary chronicle, of the Jews having

practised this alleged cruelty and contumely, the words of the chronicler are very precise, viz. *Cum in Franciam Philippus venisset, essetque apud Sanctum Germanum de Layo, execrabile Judæorum facinus ad eum delatum est. Apud Brayum castrum Judæi Christianum quendam (quem furti atque homicidii insimulabant) captum, serto spineo coronaverant: deductumque per oppidum et multis verberibus affectum tandem cruci affigentes interemerant, permittente loci dominâ quam ipsi muneribus evicissent.* Eighty Jews were burnt on this account, circa 1182.

The prioress's tale in Chaucer, and the Scotch ballad of the Jew's Daughter, show how deeply rooted has been the tradition of these alleged cruelties charged against the Jews.

PAGE 7. Col. 2. Line 6 from the bottom.

Was received barefooted.]—He was to put off his shoes before the doors of the church, and with devotion and giving of thanks proceed to meet the convent, who were to advance in a procession previously arranged by the chantor.—*Fosbrooke's Brit. Monachism.*

PAGE 8. Col. 1. Line 14.

Benedicite.]—When the abbot went into chapter, he said, "The souls of all deceased brethren and believers rest in peace;" to which the convent replied, "Amen." And he again said, "Benedicite," again "Dominus," and then "Let us speak of the order;" all immediately bowed, and the business commenced. He finished the chapter in the usual manner by going out with his chaplains and singing "Verba mea." See also page 6. col. 1. line 2.

PAGE 8. Col. 1. Line 36.

Spending his day.]—At the feast of an abbot's admission, the convent had every man a gallon of wine, a whole loaf, and three handsome dishes of fish.—*Fosbrooke's Brit. Monachism.*

PAGE 9. Col. 1. Line 30.

Of hidages and fodercorn of henrents.]—Hidage was a tax upon every hide of land. Fodercorn was an ancient feudal prerogative that the lord should be provided with provision for his horses. Henrents; hens were a common reservation upon inferior tenures.

PAGE 10. Col. 2. Linea ultima.

The school of Melun.]—The school of Abelard in the University of Melun, which excelled in the Dialectic art.

PAGE 11. Col. 1. Line 29 from the bottom.

Day and night for six years.]—The rule of St. Benedict was, that the abbot was always to have a chaplain with him.

PAGE 11. Col. 1. Line 6 from the bottom.

Had not St. Edmund thrown his arms about him.]—This is in allusion to the rule of St. Benedict which says, "Parents to offer their children by wrapping their hands in the pall of the altar, promising to leave nothing to them" [that they might have no temptation to leave the house].

PAGE 11. Col. 2. Line 32 from the bottom.

Ancient custom respecting the entertainment of guests.]—The rule concerning hospitality and the receipt of guests is to be found in the *liber albus* of St. Edmund's monastery, a MS. book in the Harleian collection (No. 1005), which contains the present chronicle, as well as many other memoranda relating to the management of the convent. The most important after this chronicle is the "Traditiones patrum," a compilation of rules for the government and administration of the funds of the monastery, gathered from tradition; one passage, which regulates the length of stay a guest or traveller was entitled to make, is to the following effect:—"No guest shall stay in the hall (i. e. the guest-house or hall) beyond two days, unless by the special leave of the prior or cellarer, or at least of the hospitaller, who is not to presume to do this very frequently without the leave of the prior, or at least of the cellarer."

PAGE 13. Col. 1. Line 10 from the bottom.

And assigned them for the use of the schools.]—Sampson's school-house was erected for the teaching of forty poor boys; the building was near the present Shire House, the street still retaining the name of School Hall Street. The school was in existence in the time of Henry VI.

PAGE 13. Col. 2. Line 4.

That the Jews should be driven away.]—From the annals of St. Edmund's Bury, MS. Harl., No. 447, it appears, that the massacre of the Jews who came to the coronation of King Richard I. (A.D. 1189) was, in some degree, imitated at Bury in 1190 on Palm Sunday. The persons who were then preparing to go on crusade were in want of money for their expenses, and the slaying of the Jews and despoiling them of their property must have been deemed one of those duties which people sometimes say, "they owe to themselves." Those Jews that saved themselves from the massacre at St. Edmund's, were expelled by the abbot Sampson, who gave what seemed to our chronicler a very good reason for getting rid of such neighbours, who, having been plundered, could no longer be of any service to the convent. The Jews, indeed, had been on very good terms with the convent, as we read in page 3, col. 2.; indeed Jocee, mentioned in page 1, was in all probability their moneyer, as his descendant was in 1276.

At this time (1190) most horrible outrages were perpetrated upon the Jews at the instance of the crusaders. The fate of the Jews of York is much better authenticated than the charges made against the Jews in general of individual acts of cruelty, which they could have no possible motive to execute; the French chronicles of this period tell much the same tale as the English historians.

PAGE 13. Col. 2. Line 30 from the bottom.

And whereas the Queen Eleanor.]—Prynne refers to this passage in his "Aurum Reginæ, a tractate of Queen gold, &c." ed. 1668, p. 104.

Ibid. line 20 from the bottom.

The same Queen redeemed that cup.]—All the church plate of the realm was delivered up for the ransom of the king, in pursuance of his letter to

Queen Eleanor, dated from Hagenau, 17 April, 1193. (Hoveden, 413 v.) The queen's release of this golden chalice is printed in "Dugdale's Monasticon," ed. 1821, iii. p. 154. The shrine of St. Edmund, which was covered with gold plating and adorned with precious stones, escaped being stripped by the firmness of Sampson and the superstitious apprehensions of the barons of the exchequer, page 28, col. 1.

PAGE 15. COL. 2. LINE 8.

The chancellor——was driven from England.]—Longchamp fled the kingdom in 1191; he came to England in the following year, but was not suffered to proceed farther than Canterbury, and crossed the seas again. In 1193 he returned, bearing letters from the emperor, and met the regency at St. Alban's. It was on this occasion that he passed through St. Edmundsbury, coming from his manor of Hitcham, after landing at Ipswich. The cause of his exile, and his proceedings with the archbishop of York, noticed in the text, are explained in Lingard's "Hist. of England," ii. 185., ed. 1819. This statesman was not favourable to the monks, and they have not spared his memory.—*Mr. Rokewood's note.*

PAGE 16. COL. 1. LINE 7.

Whilst there was war throughout England.]—The nation was in a state of general warfare; Windsor, with the other castles held by John, were besieged by the regency.

PAGE 18. COL. 1. LINE 19.

Ranulf de Glanville.]—This was the famous lawyer of that name, who wrote his "Treatise of the Laws and Customs of England" in the time of Henry II. The most common edition of this book is that printed at London, in 1604; it has been translated by Mr. Beames, a barrister-at-law. The legal proceedings, so frequently alluded to in the present chronicle, can be fully explained by a reference to this book.

PAGE 19. COL. 1. LINE 29 FROM THE BOTTOM.

Then the earl Roger Bigot.]—This man was son of Hugh, the rebellious earl. This contest with the tenants by knights' service, is alluded to in a MS. in the Harleian collection (No. 367, p. 14), which, evidently referring to this chronicle, gives the following narration of this law-suit. Mr. Yates has incorrectly copied the MS., so no apology is necessary for its being introduced to the reader. In the same MS. another fact is related, evidently from this chronicle, which, as it concerns the same matter, viz. the secular tenure of the abbot and his tenants by knights' service, may also be given.—*See p. 24. col. 2. line 22 from the bottom.*

"The abbot of Bury, Sampson, went to the law with the knights that owed knights' services to him; he demanded l. whole knights' services, which they in part denied; but at length, afore the archebishop, the then justice, they all confessed. First, Earl Ro. Bigot recognised iij knights' services for his parte. Albericus de Vere and William de Hastings were then beyond sea in the kyng's service; Alberike de Veer was the last that would recognise it, but the abbot took and sold his cattle. At length he came in and confessed. The abbot had them all to London at his own cost, there to have them in open court to make theyre recognitions of their said services.

"Kynge Richard demanded of all bishops and abbots, yt every ix. knights of all theyre baronies they should make him the xth, to come and serve him in his wars in Normandie, with horse and armorie, against the French kynge; whereupon the abbot of Bury was to make him iiij; but when the knights alleged a privilege that they should not go forth of the realm, he went over to excuse the matter, and hired iiij stipendiary knights, which the kynge received at the castle of How (Eu)."

There was a great difference in quantity or extent between some baronies and others; this difference arose from the respective charters of ffeoffment granted by the crown. If the king enfeoffed a man of twenty carues of land, to hold by the service of one knight, or of forty carues of land to hold by the service of one knight, the feoffee had in each case one knight's fee. The fees of the old feoffment were commonly larger in quantity or extent than those of the new. —*Madox*, Hist. Exchequer, p. 220.

PAGE 21. COL. 1. LINE 2 FROM THE BOTTOM.

The horn which is called moot horn.]—The delivery of this moot horn to the bailiffs, or aldermen of the town, was the mode of delivering seisin or possession to them of their office, and the profits annexed thereto. The summoning a *moot* or assembly by the blowing a horn, or, as the Scotch call it, "horning," is of great antiquity.

PAGE 21. COL. 2. LINE 15 FROM THE BOTTOM.

The merchants of London claimed to be quit of toll.]—The citizens of London are by charter of Henry I. and II. free from all toll, and the charter of Henry II. especially reserves to the citizens, that if any one took toll of them, the sheriffs of London might take goods of the wrong-doers at London as a recompense. There are two sorts of toll alluded to in this paragraph; first, the fair toll; second, the passage toll. The first is a duty payable on all things sold at the fair; the second is an ancient regality, being a duty payable from persons for their horses, carts, &c. for liberty to pass through the manors or demesnes of another; and this toll has been used from the earliest times; it is particularly mentioned as a regal due in Gunther's Poetical Treatise on the Laws of the Lombards, book viii., and is associated with other rights of the same nature, which were granted by feudal lords to their tenants, viz.—

> "Ac primum Ligures super hoc a rege rogati
> Vectigal, portus, cudendæ jura monetæ,
> Cumque molendinis, *telonia*, flumina, pontes."

The dukes of Milan, also, are represented by an early feudal commentator, as claiming tolls (telonia) as regalities.—*Radevic.* lib. i. 5. 41; ii. 5.

In the charters of Saxon kings, this right of foot-toll and carriage-toll, which implied a warranty of safe conduct for the passenger, is frequently mentioned.

Allusion is also made in this paragraph to *toll* and *theame*, franchises or regalities, which are constantly mentioned in Cartularies, as having existed

long before the conquest; *toll* is a Saxon word, and has three significations, 1st, it is used for a liberty to buy and sell within the limits of a manor; 2ndly, a tribute or custom paid for passage; 3rdly, it is, also, the liberty to take as well as to be free of toll, for those who are enfeoffed with *toll* are custom free.—(*Cowell's Interpreter.*) *Theame*, or *teame*, is also the name of a regality granted by the king to the lord of a manor, for the having, restraining, and judging bondmen, niefes, and villans, with their children, goods, and chattels, in his court.—(*Id.*) This *theame* was the foundation of the abbot's jurisdiction over the place called the liberty of St. Edmund's.

The extreme antiquity of their city, as alleged by the good citizens upon this occasion, was in accordance with the prevailing usage of the time, to allege every thing that was to be insisted upon as a right or privilege, as derivable from the highest antiquity. The monkish writers have enrolled the names of philosophers of antiquity, and persons of learning who had flourished ages before Britain was known, as Oxford scholars.

PAGE 24. Col. 2. Line 22 from the bottom.

See note, p. 19. col. 1. line 19 from the bottom.

PAGE 25. Col. 1. Line 16 from the bottom.

Chasuble.]—These and other priestly vestments are alluded to in the present chronicles or narration. A chasuble, or casuble, was a garment almost totally covering the priest, which he used when at mass; hence probably we have the cassock. Dalmatica was a long white garment for the priest or deacon; first used in Dalmatia, whence its name. This was in great esteem, and used at the coronation of kings. None but mitred abbots wore the dalmatica; at least it seems not to occur in the list of vestments given in the chartularies of other than mitred abbeys. Albs, or Aubis, were a sort of white garments and proper head-clothes for the priest. They seem to have been similar to the surplice of our Church, but not so plain. They are called Camisia (which was also the name for a shirt of camel's bristles, or hair shirt, worn for the purposes of mortification), podaris, as reaching to the feet; talaris, for the same reason (the long gown alluded to in p. 6. col. 2, which abbot Sampson was supposed to have worn in brother Edmund's dream, appears by the expression of Jocelin, our chronicler, to have been somewhat of this description—"pallio circumdatum longo et *talari*") and subercula; a cap, more frequently is taken for a hood, which was sometimes of silk; but the word seems to mean any covering for the head.

PAGE 27. Col. 1. Line 1.

These meetings, wrestlings, and matches (conventicula, colluctationes et concertationes), Mr. Rokewood conceived to have been miracle plays; but as these miracle plays were performed by the monks or secular clergy, his supposition or suggestion does not appear to be justified; the words meetings and shows (*conventicula et spectacula*) which occur at the end of this paragraph, may afford some colour for this interpretation; but at this time, it might be remembered, these exhibitions were of a religious or moral character, and performed by clerks, whereas the actors in these Christmas games were the servants of the abbot, and the burgesses of the town.

PAGE 28. Col. 1. Line 25.

Walter the physician.] — Medicine was mostly professed by clerks, because they alone were capable of reading the Latin works on the art of healing, and were not until 1451 allowed to marry.—*Fosbrooke's British Monachism.*

PAGE 28. Col. 2. Line 14 from the bottom.

Repsilver.] — This payment is sufficiently explained by our chronicler, who notes its origin, and that it was a composition for harvest-labour performed "before the town became free." Manly, in his additions to Cowell's Interpreter, ed. 1701, voce *repsilver*, cites this very passage: "Ex cartular. S. Edmundi MS. penes Joh. Episc. Norwic'." fo. 316, which there is little doubt is the same MS. alluded to in the introduction as having in all probability been destroyed by fire. There is great reason to lament the loss of this cartulary, as from the number of paging, the matters contained therein must have been numerous. However, in large monasteries where there were numerous cartularies, the same intelligence is constantly repeated in each.

The tenure of the resiants within the liberties of St. Edmund's was originally servile, but it is very evident at the compilation of Domesday, that there were 118 men in the town who could alienate their land, and 54 freemen who are stated as very poor, those who lived without the town and yet within the liberties, which extended a mile round the town, as limited by four crosses, according to King Edmund and also St. Edward the Confessor's charter, were not in our chronicler's time upon the same footing with the burgesses, as is very evident by the fate of Ketel the thief, p. 29, col. 1, and the observations made by the burgesses upon his execution. The struggles of the burgesses for their freedom from the feudal thraldom which impoverished them, are alluded to in the introductory remarks to the present work.

PAGE 29. Col. 1. Line 9.

Portmane-mot.] — The portman moot, or portmen's court, a court that was held not in a haven or port town, but in any other city, or town, or borough. *Port* in Saxon signifying a close town.

PAGE 29. Col. 1. Line 15.

Sor-peni.]—This word is the same as scharpenny or scharnpenny, i. e. dung-penny, from scearn, dung. By this it seems that the base tenants were bound, as being originally bondmen, to pen up their cattle at night in the pound or yard of their Lord for the benefit of their dung, and if they did not do so, they paid this dung-penny as a compensation. Manly, in his additions to Cowell's Interpreter, ed. 1701, cites the same cartulary of St. Edmund's monastery, and also the words of Jocelin's chronicle. The present translation at *line* 18 must be deemed an *erratum*, and the words for *going to the common for pasture*, should be read, "for their dung" (pro exitu), which the reader will kindly correct. This payment was also spelt in another part of the same cartulary of St. Edmund's, *schornpenny*. See Cowell's Interpreter, *voce* scharpenny.

PAGE 29. Col. 1. Line 12 from the bottom.

Except the villans of Hardwick.]—In the Latin these men are written *lancetti*. This tenure was called *lancettage*, and was a servile and base tenure. Their service was at St. Edmund's to clean the rooms and chambers of the convent. This tenure was "in villenage," and therefore *lancetti* has been rendered "villans." It seems there were the *lancetti* of Groton, a manor of St. Edmund's.

PAGE 29. Col. 2. Line 9.

Borth-selver.]—This is the same as bord-halfpenny, a duty paid in fairs and markets for setting up tables, boards, and stalls; it is sometimes called brod-halfpenny and borthal-penny.

PAGE 29. Col. 2. Line 16.

The merchants' guild.] — The company of merchants who had associated themselves into a guild. See ante, note for p. 1. col. 2. line 14.

PAGE 29. Col. 2. Line 22.

Scurun's well.]—This place is said by Yates to be near the place called Eastgate Bridge. In all probability it was a holy well, which may account for its being a place of assembly, such as Clerkenwell, London.

PAGE 29. Col. 2. Line 35.

Averland.]—This seems to have been ancient arable land so called, held by rustic drudges and villans. Averpenny was a sum paid as a composition for certain rustic services.

PAGE 30. Col. 1. Line 18.

Haggovele.]—This was an acknowledgment in the nature of hearth-money.

PAGE 32. Col. 2. Line 30 from the bottom.

The Danish coffin.]—That is, the coffin or chest which contained the body when it was removed to London for safety by Ailwin, as mentioned in the introductory remarks.

PAGE 33. Col. 1. Line 11.

Lay united to the body.]—This particularly alludes to the miracle of the head after decapitation being reunited to the body. There is not the slightest doubt but that this body was a supposititious corpse, and perhaps not the *first*.

PAGE 33. Col. 2. Line 16 et seq.

King John, according to the chronicles, first went to St. Thomas à Becket's shrine, before he went to St. Edmund's shrine; the *easterling pence*, were pence of a pure coinage, first stamped by the Easterlings, or merchants of East-Germany, by command of king John, from whence we have the term sterling-money.

PAGE 35. Col. 2. Line 14.

Adam of Cokefield being dead.]—This paragraph gives some idea of the manner in which a ward was disposed of. The evils of wardship, which have not existed for the last two hundred years, were purely a consequence of feudal tenure, and introduced by the Norman system of feudality. *Guardianship in chivalry*, as this consequence of tenure by knights' service was termed, is fully illustrated by Lyttleton's Treatise of Tenures, Book II. Chap. IV. The words of Rastall, a lawyer of the time of Hen. 8. may not be inapposite: "and here you may see what misery followeth the tenure by knight's service, if the tenant dieth, leaving his heir within age, how the poor child may be tossed and tumbled, chopped and changed, bought and sold like a jade in Smithfield, and what is more, married to whom it pleaseth his guardian, whereof ensue many evils."—*Old Termes de la Ley*, ed. 1579, fol. 98.

PAGE 37. Col. 2. Line 13.

Cloister folk.]—This distinction between cloister monks and the other brethren is frequently noticed throughout this chronicle, and our chronicler in a very early part of his narration, lays an emphasis upon a cloister monk, "thou who art a cloister monk" (*tu qui claustralis es*). The members of the convent were composed of lay brothers and clerks as well as monks. The lay brothers were composed, not unfrequently, of persons who gave their property to the convent, and professed obedience, and also included others of inferior condition. Many of the *obedientarii*, or officials, were lay brothers; the lay brother was not shaved, whilst the monk was, and many distinctions existed between the cloister monks and those simply professed.

INDEX.

ABBOT; his will was supreme in the convent, 41 (*note*).
——— Sampson. See SAMPSON, abbot of St. Edmund's Bury.
Abbots; predecessors of Sampson, list of, viii. ix.
Acre, Sampson when a monk sent for punishment to a cell at that place, 2. 14. 43 (*note*).
Ælmeswell and *Ælmessethe*. See *Elmswell* and *Elmset*.
AILWIN, or EGELWIN, brought the body of St. Edmund to London, viii.; salutations of, 33.
ALBERIC DE VERE, present at Risbridge as a friend of the earl of Clare, 16; contends with the abbot Sampson concerning his tenure by knight's service, 19. 45 (*note*).
ALBOLD; abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, viii.
ALFRIC, son of Withgar; his land in Domesday Book alluded to, 16.
Almoner of the king; visits the convent, ix. x. 1, 2.
——— of the abbot, Jocelin appointed, vi. *ibid.* (*note*), 19; his duties, 42 (*note*).
ANSELM; abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, viii.; his charter to the burgesses alluded to, 22.
AUGUSTINE, abbot of Norway, lodges at the convent during the vacancy, 5. 43 (*note*).
Averland, 29, 30. 47 (*note*).
Averpenny, 29. 47 (*note*).

Babbwell, hospital at, founded by abbot Sampson, 13.
Bailiffs of the town of St. Edmund's Bury. Sampson, as abbot, appoints new bailiffs, 21.
BALDWIN, abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, viii.
———, archbishop of Canterbury; not desirous to abide by verdict of Norfolk and Suffolk men, as prejudiced, 15.
Bannaleuca, the term in Latin for the liberties of St. Edmund's Bury, viii. See Liberties of St. Edmund's Bury.
Banner or standard of St. Edmund. See Standard of St. Edmund.
Barons of the Exchequer; decline to strip St. Edmund's shrine, viii. 28.
BENEDICT, Jew of Norwich, lends forty marks to William the sacrist, and its consequences, 1.
———, St., rule of. See Rule of St. Benedict.
———, (the Jew of Norwich); William the sacrist borrows forty marks of, which at last amounted to 800*l.*, 1.
———, (the sub-prior of St. Edmund's Bury); says, that abbot Ording would not have waived a certain due in respect of cow-dung for 500 marks, 29.
BEODRIC; gave name to the place called Beodrichesworth, since called St. Edmund's Bury, 29.
Beodrichesworth; ancient name of St. Edmund's Bury, viii. 29.
BERTRAND, abbot of Chertsey; one of those who were nominated for abbot at the time of the election, he then being prior of St. Faith's, 7.
BIGOT, Roger, earl of Norfolk; bore the banner of St. Edmund at the battle of Fornham, 16.—*vide* Norfolk.
BLUND, Hamo; his *quasi* intestacy, 26.
———, William; *ibid.*
Borth-silver; 28, 29. 47 (*note*).
BOTOLPH, St. See ST. BOTOLPH.
Braklond, Long. See *Long Braklond.*
———, *Little.* See *Little Braklond.*
Boxford; recognition concerning advowson of, 17.
Burgesses of St. Edmund's Bury; offer sixty marks for a confirmation of their charter, 22.
BURGH, Thomas de; is grantee of wardship of Adam of Cokefield's heiress, and in that character litigates with abbot Sampson, 35, 36.

Canterbury, Baldwin, archbishop of. See BALDWIN.
———, Hubert Walter, archbishop of. See WALTER.
———, Richard, archbishop of. See RICHARD.
CANUTE I., viii.
Cellarer, office of; his duties, 41 (*note*); borrowed money from Jurnet the Jew, and was deposed by abbot Hugh notwithstanding his excuse, 2; cellarers in debt, 23. 25; a clerk associated with the cellarer, *ibid.;* the office of, taken on hand by abbot Sampson, 25; customs or dues to the cellarer, 29.
CEREVILLE, Richard de; alluded to in story of Henry of Essex, 20.
Chamberlain; his office and duties, 42 (*note*).
Chanter; same as precentor, *ibid.*
Chasuble. See Vestments.
Chertsey, Bertrand, abbot of. See BERTRAND.
Churches belonging to the abbot and convent specified, 18.
Clare, Richard, earl of; his suit with the abbot, and claim to bear the banner of St. Edmund, 16.
——, Roger, earl of; came up with his men to the assistance of Henry II., at the pass of Coleshill, 20.
Clock, fell when the shrine was damaged by fire, 31; deemed a presage of misfortune, x.
Cluni, Hugh, abbot of, visits St. Edmund's Bury, 36.
Cokefield, Robert of; one of the wardens or clerks of custody of the abbey during the vacancy, 3; dies, 16.
———, Adam of, his son; claims the half hundred of Cosford in fee farm, 16; dies, and leaves his daughter in ward to the abbot, 28; and refuses the wardship for a king's favourite, *ibid.;* but grants the wardship over to Thomas de Burgh, who litigates with the abbot, 35, 36.
Coleshill, pass of; alluded to in the story of Henry of Essex, 20.
Constantine, Geoffrey of. See GEOFFREY of Constantine.
Cosford, the half hundred of; the abbot Sampson took it on hand after the death of Robert of Cokefield, 9; Adam Cokefield sues the abbot for it as a fee farm, but the abbot refuses it, 16.
Coventry, commission for restoration of monks of, 27.
Cucking-stool, the setting up of, an usurpation by the men of Monk's-Illeigh, upon the jurisdiction of the abbot, 15.
Custom, a special custom in the town of St. Edmund's Bury, 30.

Customs (customary payments or dues); changes in, by order of abbot Sampson, 28.
———; of the cellarer, 29.

Dalmatica. See Vestments.
Danish coffin, 32; explanation of this term, 47 (*note*).
Dennis, the cellarer; alluded to as having just returned from correction at a remote cell, 2; is made cellarer, and his conduct in that office, *ibid.*; chosen to accompany the prior to court upon the election of an abbot, 5; his acts on that occasion, 7.
Dissy, William, 13.
———, Walter, *ibid.*
———, John de, 33.
Domesday-Book; description of land of St. Edmund in, viii; alluded to as Great Roll of Winton or Winchester, 13; land of Alfric, son of Withgar, 16.
Dreams, in early ages supposed to be of great importance, x; of the monks in reference to the election of an abbot, 6; abbot Sampson's dream when a child, 11; dream of a person of quality in reference to St. Edmund's shrine, 31, 32.
Drogo. See Fitz Drogo.

Eastgate-Bridge, place called Scurun's Well, supposed to be near the place now so called, 29. 47 (*note*).
Edmund, king of England, son of Edward the Elder, and father of Edgar; his grant of separate jurisdiction or liberties to St. Edmund's Bury, viii.
Edmund, a monk, dreams that Sampson is elected abbot, 6.
Egelwin. See Ailwin.
Eleanor, queen of Henry II. See Queen Eleanor.
Elias, butler of abbot Hugh; generosity of Sampson to his son, 13.
Elmeswell and *Elmset:* by a mistake made in the pronunciation of the final syllable, abbot Sampson evades a request by the bishop of Ely for timber, 20.
Ely, bishop of, William Longchamp. See Longchamp.
———————, Geoffrey Ridell. See Ridell.
———————. See Lakenheath, Etheldreda.
Entertainment of guests, ancient rule of. See Hospitality.
Escuage; contention between Sampson and his tenants by knight's service holding of his barony, xi. 19. 45 (*note*).
Essex, Henry of; his story by way of episode, 19, 20; the object of its introduction, xii.
Etheldreda, St. (patron saint of Ely); jurisdiction of court of, i. e. of bishop and monks of Ely, 39.
———————, land of, 39. See *Lakenheath.*
Eu, castle of; abbot Sampson's stipendiary knights sent to, 19. 45 (*note*).

Fair of St. Edmund's Bury first granted by Henry I., ix; merchants of London dispute the toll payable at, and absent themselves from it, but afterwards return, 21, 22; the burgesses forbidden to erect booths unless they comply with certain terms, 22.
Flamville or Flamaville, Robert de, appointed, with William of Cokefield, one of the wardens of the abbey during the vacancy of the abbey, 3.
Fitz Drogo, Richard; paid five marks for committing a rape, which the abbot gave to the party as a marriage portion, 13.
Fitz Isabel, William; security given to him for money he lent the convent, 1.
Flemings, taken and destroyed at the battle of Fornham, 1. 16. 40 (*note*).
Fornham, St. Genevieve, battle of, ix. 1. 16. 40 (*note*).
Fothercorn, 9. 44 (*note*).
Fraternities. See Guilds and Fraternities.
Geoffrey the chancellor, afterwards archbishop of York, 6. 24.
———————— of Constantine, his excuse for the convent, 2.
———————— of Fordham, 5.
Gilbert, deputy-steward of the abbey; allowed as such by abbot Sampson because he was a simpleton, 9.
Glanville, Ranulf de, mentioned, 2. 8. 15. 18. 45 (*note*).
Glemesford, the bishop of Ely requests timber for some great buildings at, which is evaded by abbot Sampson, 20; a young man of, being summoned to the court of St. Edmund's Bury, a dispute arose as to the jurisdiction of the monks of Ely, 39.
Godfrey, a burgess appointed with Nicholas, another burgess of St. Edmund's Bury, bailiff of the town, 21.
Greenstead or *Greenstreet Church*, a very ancient wooden church, near Chipping Ongar, described by tradition as the place where the body of St. Edmund was rested by Ailwin, viii.
Guest-master, same as hospitaller, 42 (*note*).
Guilds and Fraternities alluded to, 1; these associations described, 42 (*note*).

Haberdon, windmill at. See Herbert the dean.
Haggovele, 30. 47 (*note*).
Hamo Blund. See Blund.
Harlow, pleasant adventure at, 10; recognition or verdict touching land of Herard in, 18.
Hardwick, the villans or lancettors of, 29. 47 (*note*).
Hastings, William of, a monk; his dream respecting the election of an abbot, 6.
————————, tenant by knight's service; his pleading in respect of his knight's fee delayed by reason of his being in the king's service, 18.
————, Thomas of, uncle of Henry of Hastings,
————, Henry of; his claim to hereditary stewartry of St. Edmund's, 8.
Henry II., king of England, sends his almoner to St. Edmund's Bury, 1, 2; receives the monks upon the election of an abbot, 6; his remark upon Sampson, then chosen abbot, 7; goes to Canterbury, 15; takes the cross, on which occasion Sampson also wishes to go on a crusade, 15; receives the abbot at Clarendon, 18.
Herbert the dean, compelled to pull down a windmill he had lately erected on Haberdon, 17.
Herbert the prior, made prior of St. Edmund's Bury by means of abbot Sampson, after a struggle with the monks, 36, 37; his character, 37.
Hidages, 9. 44 (*note*).
Hingham, Hugh and Roger of, mentioned as lately returned from a remote cell whither they had been sent for punishment, 2.
————, Roger, is made cellarer, but shortly after deposed, 35.
Hopeton, moiety of church of; contention respecting, 17, 18.
Hospitality, rule of, 11, 44 (*note*).
Hospitaller, or guest-master; his office and duties, 42 (*note*).
Hubert, justiciar, 19.
————, Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, 27; obtains the grant of wardship of Adam Cokefield's heiress, which he sells again at a profit, 35.
Hugh (abbot of St. Edmund's Bury); when made abbot, ix.; his character, 1; his transactions with the Jews, *ibid.*; sends to Rome for an exemption to free his abbey from visitation, 2; his pilgrimage to St. Thomas à Becket's shrine at Canterbury, accident and death, 3; the anniversary of his *obit* alluded to, 26; his charter to the burgesses of the town alluded to, 22.
——— (prior of St. Edmund's Bury); alluded to as having been deprived, 1; and sent to a remote cell for correction, 2.
——— (third prior of St. Edmund's Bury); one of the three nominated by the convent for abbot, 5, 6.
——— (the sacrist of St. Edmund's Bury); contention between him and Roger, the cellarer, and its consequences, 29.
Hugh (the infirmarer); 33.

Ikelingham; a member of Mildenhall manor, 13.
Illeigh (*Monk's*); a manor of the monks of Canterbury, 14, 15.

Images of St. John and the Virgin Mary, richly ornamented, proposed to be pledged, 2.
Interest of money; rate of, in the time of Henry II., ix.
Infirmarer; his office and duties, 42 (*note*).
INGUAR, a Danish chief who accompanied Ubba in his invasion of East Anglia, vii.
ISAAC (the son of Rabbi Jocee); a specialty creditor of the convent, 1; some account of his family, 42 (*note*).

Jews; their loans and the consequences, 1, 2; patronised by William the sacrist, 5; importune Sampson the abbot for payment, 9; expelled the town, 13; not the only creditors of the convent, 42 (*note*); charges against the Jews of cruelty towards children, whom they are said to have crucified, 43, 44 (*note*).
—— of Winchester. See WINCHESTER, Jews at.
JOCELIN of Brakelond, or Brookland (the writer of the present Chronicle); takes the habit, 1; is prior's chaplain, and next abbot's chaplain, 8; presents a schedule or list of churches to the abbot Sampson, 18; is alluded to as almoner, 19; and as guest-master, 28. 37.
JOCELL (cellarer of St. Edmund's Bury); disobeys the abbot, and is punished, but he breeds a rebellion in the convent, 34; deposed and made sub-cellarer because Roger of Hingham said he could manage better, but restored upon Roger failing in his promise, 35.
JOHN (king of England); comes to St. Edmund's Bury, 33; his mean oblation, *ibid.*; summons the abbot over to him in Normandy, 39.
JORDAN de ROS; his claim to the church of Hopton, 17, 18.
JURNET (the Jew); the officials of the convent privately borrow money of him, 2.

KETEL, a free tenant of the abbey, is convicted of theft by trial by battle, and hanged, 29; observations of the burgesses upon this circumstance, *ibid.*
Knights of St. Edmund (*i. e.* those who held by knights' service of the abbot's barony); their names, 35.
——— fee; what this term means, and its incidents, xi.

Lancettors of Hardwick; tenants by lancettage, or villans, alluded to as excepted from the privileges of the townsfolk, 29: this tenure was a base tenure, 47 (*note*).
——— of Groton, *ibid.*
Lakenheath; day's work of eels from Southrey, commuted to a penny rent, 29.
———, market of; contention with the monks of Ely concerning, 38.
Leicester, Robert de Bossu, earl of; his defeat at Fornham St. Geneviéve, ix. 1. 16. 41 (*note*).
———, countess of, Petronilla; her ring said to be recently found, 41 (*note*).
LEOFSTAN (abbot of St. Edmund's Bury), viii.
——— (a nobleman); disbelieving the story of St. Edmund and his head, and the incorruptibility of his body, said to have been struck dead, viii.
Liberties of St. Edmund's Bury; stated, viii.; alluded to, 13. 17. 19.
London (city of); its great antiquity alleged, 22.
——— (merchants of); dispute with them as to fair toll and passage toll, 21, 22.
Long Braklond and *Little Braklond*; names of ancient streets in St. Edmund's Bury, vi. (*note*).
LONGCHAMP, William, bishop of Ely, justiciar, chancellor, and pope's legate; his disgrace reported as being the effect of his slighting the claims of the abbey, 15; his excommunication and treatment by the abbey, *ibid.*; opposed at the council of London by abbot Sampson, *ibid.* 16. See *Lakenheath—Etheldreda.*

Malmesbury, abbot of, Nicholas; nominated for abbot before the king, 7.
Martyri adhuc—; antiphone commencing with these words, sung, 7, 8.
Melun; doctrine of the school of, in dialectics, 10.
Mendham, Thomas of; claimed to be standard-bearer of St. Edmund, 16.
Merchants' Guild, 29. 47 (*note*).
——— of London. See *London* (merchants of).
Mildenhall; purchased of the crown by Sampson, 13; queen Eleanor remits her queen-gold, *ibid.*; how the rents of are apportioned between abbot and convent, *ibid.*
Milding; the men of this town, in their zeal for St. Edmund, grievously wound the retainers of the monks of Canterbury when the abbot of St. Edmund's Bury's cause comes on to be heard, 15.
MONTEFORT, Robert de; his trial by battle with Henry of Essex, 20.
Moneyer of the convent, 42 (*note*).
Moot-horn, 21. 45 (*note*).

New year gifts from inferiors to superiors; an ancient custom, 18.
NICHOLAS (abbot of Malmesbury). See *Malmesbury.*
——— (burgess of St. Edmund's Bury); appointed bailiff of St. Edmund's Bury with Godfrey, another burgess, 21.
Norfolk (county of); abbot Sampson a native of, and called a *Norfolk Barrator*, in allusion to the place of his birth, 4. 12.
———, Roger Bigot, earl of; bore the standard of St. Edmund at the battle of Fornham, 16; acknowledges the service due on the knight's fees that he held of the abbot, 19. 45 (*note*).
———, Hugh Bigot, earl of; son of preceding, 45 (*note*).
Norway (Augustine, archbishop of); lodged at St. Edmund's Bury abbey during the vacancy, 5; the cause of his coming to England, 43 (*note*).
Norwich, John, bishop of; suggests that it would not be expedient that abbot Sampson should go on crusade, 15.
———, castle of; castle-guard at, 19.

Officials or obedientiarii; their duties and offices in the convent, 41, 42 (*notes*).
Omens, their influence not inferior to dreams, x.
ORDING, abbot of St. Edmund's Bury; short account of him, ix; said by the monks to have been a good abbot although an illiterate man, 4; his charter to the burgesses of the town alluded to, 22; Benedict the subprior appeals to his memory, 29; buried in the chapter-house, 29; the anniversary of his *obit* alluded to, 26.
Oswyn, a devotee who washed St. Edmund's body and pared his nails, viii.

PALEGRAVE, Richard. The farmer of this manor paid 50*s.* on the day abbot Hugh was buried, so there was money to be distributed for his soul, 3; but this had to be refunded to the wardens of the abbey, 12.
Portman-moot or *Portmoot Court*, 29. 46 (*note*).
Pre-emption, right of; in behalf of the convent, 30.
Prior, his office and duties, 41 (*note*).
Pittanciar, Pietancer, or Pittance-master; his office and duties, 42 (*note*).
Precentor or chanter; his office and duties, 42 (*note*).
Purveyance; how conducted between the purveyors of the abbot and the purveyors of the convent, 30.

QUEEN ELEANOR, wife of Henry II.; remits her queen-gold on grant of Mildenhall, 13; redeemed the great golden chalice of the convent delivered up towards king Richard's ransom, 13.
Queen-gold, 13. 44 (*note*).

RALPH; the porter of the convent, accused of maintaining suits against the brethren, 33, 34; Jocell the cellarer punished for withholding his corody, 34; and Jocell causes a rebellion in the convent, *ibid.*

Ramsey, monks of; choose an abbot from their own body, 33.
Reading, abbey of; abbot Sampson received with his attendants at, and there hears the relation of Henry of Essex, a monk professed in that convent, 19.
REINER, a careless monk who left a candle burning, 9.
Recognitions, or verdicts upon writs of right; taken upon the following subjects: as to land in Harlow, 18; advowson of Boxford, 17; as to common amerciament, 18; respecting Semere and Groton, 36. These verdicts, recognitions, or inquests, alluded to generally, xi.
Repsilver, 28, 29. 46 (*note*).
RICHARD, farmer of Palegrave. See *Palegrave*.
————, archbishop of Canterbury; intended to visit the convent of St. Edmund's Bury as pope's legate, 2.
Refectorarius, his office and duties, 42 (*note*).
RICHARD I., king of England; sells Mildenhall to the abbot, 13; in prison, *ibid.*, 15; the war in England, 16; is visited by abbot Sampson in Germany, *ibid.*; on his return gives licence for tournaments, *ibid.*; increases the knights' fees held of him *in capite*, 24. 45 (*note*); solicits the wardship of Adam Cokefield's heiress for a favourite, and is angry at being refused, 28; is reconciled by the manly conduct of the abbot, and sends him a pope's ring, *ibid.*; his death, and its consequences to the abbot, 33.
RIDELL, Geoffrey, bishop of Ely; outwitted by abbot Sampson in respect of the timber he requested for buildings at Glemesford, 20, 21.
Risbridge, hundred-court of, held at Witham, 16.
ROBERT, prior of St. Edmund's Bury; on his decease, Sampson proposes Herbert, his friend, for prior in his stead, which is not agreeable to the convent at large, 36.
———— of Ulm. See *Ulm*.
———— I., abbot of St. Edmund's Bury; appointed by Henry I., but deposed by Anselm the archbishop, because his election was uncanonical, ix.
———— II., abbot of St. Edmund's Bury; alluded to as having separated and distinguished the rents of the abbot from those of the convent, 23; his *obit* therefore kept on one occasion with marked ceremonies, 26.
ROGER, cellarer of St. Edmund's Bury; one of those nominated by the convent for abbot, 8.
——— of Hingham. See *Hingham*.
RUFFUS or RUFUS, Geoffrey; punished by abbot Sampson for misdemeanor, and his treasure seized and appropriated for the new shrine, 25.
————, R., a monk who accompanied Sampson beyond seas to the king Henry II. when the abbey was vacant, 3.
Rule of St. Benedict; alluded to in preparing to nominate an abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, 5.

Sacrist, his office and duties, 41 (*note*).
ST. BENEDICT (rule of). See Rule of St. Benedict.
ST. BOTULF; the keepers of his relics deposed, 33.
St. Clare, Gilbert of. See *Clare*.
ST. EDMUND, shrine of. See Shrine.
————, the king and martyr; account of him and his body, which was said to be incorruptible, vii.
————, banner or standard of. See Standard of St. Edmund.
ST. ETHELDREDA. See ETHELDREDA, St.
St. Faith (Bertrand, prior of). See BERTRAND.
———— (chapel of); covered with lead, 28.
St. Germer de Flaix (the abbot of); visits St. Edmund's Bury, 38.
St. Neot's (the prior of); one of those nominated before the king for abbot, 7.
ST. ROBERT; the name of the child said to have been crucified by the Jews of St. Edmund's Bury, 5. 43 (*note*).
ST. THOMAS; pilgrimage to Thomas à Becket's tomb at Canterbury by abbot Hugh, 3.
ST. WILLIAM; name of the child said to be crucified by the Jews of Norwich, 43 (*note*).
SAMPSON, (abbot of St. Edmund's Bury); consecrated abbot in 1182, ix; enumeration of the most remarkable incidents in his biography, x, xi, xii; his imprisonment under abbot Hugh, and banishment to a remote cell, 2. 14; the cause of it, and his journey to Rome, 14; is master of the novices, 2; fills various offices, and is made subsacrist, *ibid.*; in that capacity builds the choir of the convent, and finishes the tower of the church, is thwarted in his works, 4; appointed one of the twelve monks who are to attend the prior before the king upon the election of an abbot, 5; attends king Henry II. at Bishop's Waltham, in Hampshire, 6; is found to be one of the three named in the list for abbot, and is ultimately elected, *ibid.*; the mode of his reception on his return to the convent, and his feast, 7, 8; orders a new seal, 8; summons his knights to perform homage, *ibid.*; refuses to accept Henry of Hastings as hereditary steward of St. Edmund's, by reason of nonage, *ibid.*; takes survey of his rents and services, 9; his first acts in chapter, *ibid.*; deposes William the sacrist, *ibid.*; visits his manors, *ibid.*; escapes being burnt at Warkton, *ibid.*; pleasant adventure at Harlow, 10; refuses an offer for Rungton, *ibid.*; lets Thorpe to a villan whom he trusts because he was a good agriculturist, and could not speak French, *ibid.*; is appointed a judge by the pope, *de causis cognoscendis*, and made a justice *in eyre* by the king, *ibid.*; traits of his character, vii, 12; builds and endows a school at Edmund's Bury, and drives the Jews from the town, 13; purchases Mildenhall from the crown, *ibid.*; founds the hospital of St. Saviour, then called Babbwell, *ibid.*; gives Woolpit church to the convent, 14; his contentions with the archbishop of Canterbury respecting Monk's-Illeigh, *ibid.*, 15; the archbishop and abbot appear before the king at Canterbury, 15; appeals personally to St. Edmund against William Longchamp, *ibid.*; desires to go on crusade, but is prevented by the bishop of Norwich, *ibid.*; offers to go and seek king Richard, who was imprisoned in Germany, *ibid.*; opposes William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, at council of London, in defence of his privileges, 15, 16; opposes John, the king's brother (afterwards king John), and goes to the siege of Windsor with his tenants by knights' service, 16; visits k. Richard in Germany, *ibid.*; excommunicates some disorderly young noblemen, *ibid.*; contention between the earl of St. Clare and the abbot, *ibid.*; resists the claim of Adam of Cokefield to the half hundred of Cosford, *ibid.*; compels Herbert the dean to take down his newly-erected windmill, 17; his suit with Jordan de Ros, *ibid.*; attends the king at Clarendon upon a recognition or inquest as to his liability to a common amerciament, 18; contest with his knights respecting escuage and castleguard, 19; outwits the bishop of Ely, 20; appoints the town-bailiffs, 21; his dispute with the merchants of London respecting toll, *ibid.*, 22; confirms the liberties of the townsmen, 22; associates his clerk with the cellarist against the desire of the convent, 23; forestalls Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, in his visitation as legate, *ibid.*, 24; takes on hand the office of cellarist, 25; his proceedings with the convent, who are dissatisfied, 26; his conduct upon Hamo Blund's *quasi* intestacy, *ibid.*, 27; excommunicates some Christmas revellers who shed blood in the churchyard, but absolves them directly and entertains the burgesses, 27; prohibits games, &c. in the churchyard, *ibid.*; is appointed by the pope a commissioner, with the archbishop of Canterbury and others, for the reformation of and replacing the monks of Coventry, *ibid.*; appropriates the moiety of the church of Wetherden for the purpose of keeping the master of the school, *ibid.*; rebuilds many edifices, *ibid.*, 28; his refusal to consent to the shrine of St. Edmund being despoiled even for k. Richard's ransom, 28; refuses to grant the wardship of Adam Cokefield's heiress at k. Richard's request, *ibid.*; repairs the shrine of St. Edmund and opens it, and inspects

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

the body of St. Edmund, 32, 33; entertains king John at the monastery, 33; his disagreements with his monks, 30. 34; punishes Geoffrey Ruffus, 35; grants wardship of Adam Cokefield's heiress to the archbishop of Canterbury, who sells the ward to Thomas de Burgh for a greater price, *ibid.*, 36; refuses precedency to the abbot of Cluni on his visit to St. Edmund's Bury, 36; procures his friend Herbert to be elected prior in place of Robert who died, 37; rebellion of the monks, 34; certain acts and proceedings tending to show him corruptly inclined, 38; his contention and success in respect of abolishing the market of Lakenheath, 38, 39; is sent for by king John into Normandy, 39; he temporizes with the convent, who take this opportunity of insisting upon certain claims which he defers till his return, 39, 40; is figuratively alluded to when in contentions with his opponents, under the type of the Scriptural Sampson, 4. 22.

Sampson, the precentor of St. Edmund's Bury; officiates on the abbot's inthronization, 8; appointed sacrist in place of William, who is deposed, 9.

Scales, Robert de; his concord with abbot Sampson in respect of the moiety of the advowson of Wetherden, 27.

School of St. Edmund's Bury; Sampson's foundation of, 13. 44 (*note*).

Scurun's Well; cellarer's court held at, 29.

Shrine; burnt by the carelessness of the keepers, 30, 31; the translation of the body of St. Edmund to a new shrine, resting upon a marble pediment, 32; illustration of, xii (*note*).

Southrey, day's work of eels from, commuted to a penny rent, 29.

Standard of St. Edmund, carried before the king's army at the battle of Fornham, 16. 41 (*note*).

Stigand, (archbishop of Canterbury); the images of St. John and the Virgin Mary, which he had ornamented with a great quantity of gold and silver, proposed to be pledged, 2.

Sub-chamberlain, his office and duties, 42 (*note*).

Sub-prior, his office and duties, 41 (*note*).

Sub-sacrist, his office and duties, 42 (*note*).

Sweyn (king of Denmark); died, saying he was stricken by St. Edmund. viii.

Tallage (poll-money); servants of the court-lodge free from toll and tallage, 30.

Theame, toll and, 21; these words explained, 42, 43 (*note*).

Thorpe (manor of); granted by abbot Sampson on lease to an English agriculturist, 10.

Tillener, a member of Rungton manor, 10.

Toll; citizens of London claim exemption from fair-toll and from passage-toll, 21; burgesses contend that dwellers in the suburbs of St. Edmund's Bury ought not to be free from market-toll, unless they belong to the merchants' guild, 29; custom as to payment of market-toll, when convent purchased the entire commodity before bulk broken, 30; great antiquity of passage-toll as a regality, 45 (*note*); and as to the meaning of this word, *ibid.*, 43 (*note*); servants of the convent free of, 30.

Towers of the church, 3. 6. 43 (*note*).

Tottington, surname of abbot Sampson derived from this place, which is in Norfolk, ix.

Treasurer, the same as chamberlain, 42 (*note*).

Turchill, or Thurkill (the Dane); his invasion, viii.

Ubba, a Danish chief, who invaded East Anglia in 865 and 870, accompanied by Inguar, vii.

Ulm, Robert of; contention between him and abbot Sampson, moiety of church of Hopton, 17.

Uvius (abbot of St. Edmund's Bury); the first abbot, viii.

Vestments; described, 46 (*note*).

Vere, Alberic de; a tenant holding of the barony of the abbot of St. Edmund's by knight's service, 19. 45 (*note*).

Vestiarius, or vestry-keeper; his office and duties, 42 (*note*).

Villans of Hardwick; same as lancettors of Hardwick, 47 (*note*). See Lancettors of Hardwick.

Visions and dreams; attention paid to them, x; Sampson's election said to be predicted by them, 6; the vision of a person of quality, and the impression it made, 31, 32.

Waite fee, 19.

Walchelin, the archdeacon; his charter alluded to, 17.

Wallingford, Nicholas, prior of; nominated for abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, 7.

Walter, Hubert (archbishop of Canterbury and legate); forestalled in his attempt to bring St. Edmund's Bury under his jurisdiction, 23.

Walter, the physician; chosen one of the twelve who were to accompany the prior to court, to choose an abbot, 5; contributes his acquisitions to the building of the new almonry, 28. 46 (*note*).

Waltham, or *Bishop's Waltham;* the election of Sampson to be abbot of St. Edmund's Bury at this place, and its attendant circumstances, 6.

Wardens of the abbey, or king's clerks, or commissioners in custody; reputed to have been hard and overreaching men, v; appointed for the abbey of St. Edmund's Bury on the death of abbot Hugh, 3.

Warkton; Sampson escapes danger from fire at, 9.

Wetherden, moiety of advowson of; Robert de Scales, his concord concerning, 27.

Widows; fines on their marriage alluded to, 30.

William of Hastings. See *Hastings*, William of.

——— (sacrist of St. Edmund's Bury); his borrowings from Benedict the Jew, 1; his behaviour during the vacancy, 3; patronizes the Jews, *ibid.;* chosen to accompany the prior upon the election, 5; deposed, 9; his buildings pulled down, *ibid.*

Winchester (Jews at); charged with crucifying a child, 43 (*note*).

——— (great roll of). See Domesday-book.

——— (bishop of); gives Sampson the benediction, and his expression on that occasion, 7.

Wimer (sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk); his address to Sampson on his return as abbot, 8.

Witham, hundred-court of Risbridge held at, 16.

Withgar (Alfric, son of); his land in Domesday-book alluded to, 16.

Woolpit (church of); relation of abbot Sampson's former trouble concerning this church, and his journey to Rome thereupon, 14; he gives to the convent a pension payable thereout, *ibid.*

York, Geoffrey, archbishop of, 24.

THE END.

Gilbert & Rivington, Printers, St. John's Square, London.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
3 0112 047061988